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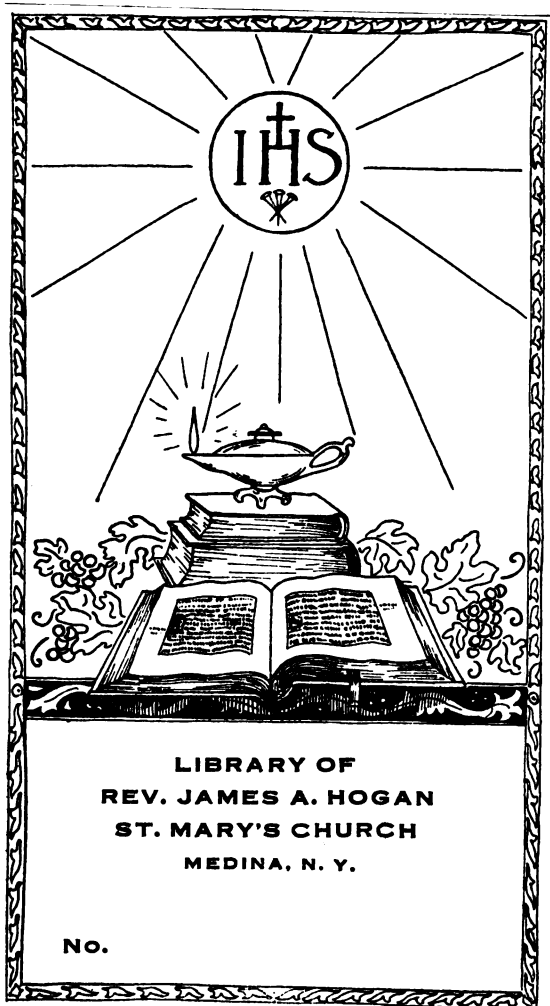


# *His grey eminence*

Robert Francis O'Connor

FONDATEUR DES RELIGIEUX DU CALVAIRE

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# **HIS GREY EMINENCE**







VRAY·PORTRAIT·DV·R·P·IOSEPH·CAPUCIN  
FONDATEVR·DES·RELIGIEUX·DV·CALVAIRE





MRAA PORTRAIT DV R.F. IOSEPH C. 1703  
JOHN Y. H. D. S. RELIGEVSE DV CALVAT

# His Grey Eminence

THE TRUE "FRIAR JOSEPH" OF  
BULWER LYTTON'S "RICHELIEU"

A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE CAPUCHIN PÈRE  
JOSEPH FRANÇOIS LE CLERC DU TREMBLAY

BY  
R. F. O'CONNOR



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# HIS GREY EMINENCE

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## I.

THOSE who have read or witnessed the production of the first Lord Lytton's historical drama *Richelieu*, so often staged, and the title rôle of which has been impersonated by Barry Sullivan, Sir Henry Irving, and other eminent actors, who have given visible embodiment and expression to the author's conception of a great historical figure, will recall with mingled feelings of repulsion and amusement the monk "Joseph," the antithesis in his meanness, servility, and sycophancy to the great-souled, independent, and powerful personality of the Cardinal-statesman; a kind of ecclesiastical Uriah Heep, whose affected "'umbleness" is only a mask to hide secret ambitions and audacious aspirations, a transparent veil which the keen, searching gaze of his patron easily penetrates. It is a striking instance of the way in which history has been falsified and

exploited, that a distinguished man of letters like Bulwer Lytton should thus prostitute his pen to the profit of Protestantism and disparagement of monasticism by portraying Friar Joseph as a monk of the type familiar to English literature since the epoch of the Dissolution, or "the Great Pillage" as an Anglican writer<sup>1</sup> calls it, when it became the vogue to hold up to ridicule or contempt all who wore the monastic habit. It would be a very feeble plea in mitigation or extenuation of this deliberate disfigurement of an important historical personage to plead, on Lytton's behalf, the dramatic exigencies, the need of introducing a foil or contrast to the central figure, or to quote from some stray contemporary pamphlet by one of those libelers from whose envious darts and diatribes no man who rises to eminence is free. So far from being the creature depicted by the dramatist, who evidently wrote to please the Protestant gallery, the real Joseph—the Capuchin, Père Joseph du Tremblay—was a man of high distinction in the social, political, and ecclesiastical world of his time.

Although death somewhat abruptly closed a

<sup>1</sup> Jessup.

career not completely rounded off, a thing incomplete and unfinished; although, in Louis Veuillot's words applied to another distinguished French ecclesiastic,<sup>2</sup> "un de ces grands passants qui n'arrivent pas," he nevertheless made his mark in history,—a broad, deep, and enduring mark. Quite a literature has accumulated around and about his personality, his life, and his action in and influence upon many of the leading events of his age. It was an age of great men and great deeds, and he ranks with the greatest. It was an age when Richelieu, one of the greatest statesmen in the world's history, was the power behind the throne which became greater than the throne; and the power behind Richelieu was Père Joseph, who was more the colleague than the confidant of the great Cardinal, whom he was instrumental in leading to the high and commanding position he occupied; his successor-designate, who, had he lived, would have become Prime Minister of France and a member of the Sacred College. He was one of the makers of history. With a genius for politics in the higher sense of the word—*la haute*

<sup>2</sup> Mgr. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans.

*politique*—he had a large share in moulding and directing the policy of Richelieu, a policy which strengthened and consolidated France, which made secure the basis of national unity by the extinction of a faction inimical alike to Church and State, and caused France to be respected and feared abroad, which raised it to the rank of a first-class power, instead of remaining a weak and distracted nation, rent by heresy and faction; which glorified the reign of Louis XIII, whom it made the greatest European monarch of his time. He was the second self, the *alter ego*, the eye, ear, and right-hand of this masterful minister, to such an extent that he came to be called, *son Eminence grise*—his Grey Eminence.

François Le Clerc du Tremblay, who under the name of Father Joseph played so important a part in high affairs of State as well as in the Church, belonged to the younger branch<sup>3</sup> of an old Paris family connected with court and official life, and allied to the Bourbons.

<sup>3</sup> This branch of the Le Clercs, distinguished from the elder branch, the Le Clercs of Fleurigny, by the name of its principal manor or château, le Tremblay, near Montfort-l'Amaury, was founded by a Seigneur du Tremblay et de Limoy, treasurer of France. This château, a fine type of seventeenth century architecture, still exists in the valley of the Mauldre.

He was the eldest son of Jean Le Clerc du Tremblay, king's counsellor, first president of the court of requests of the palace and chancellor to the Duc d'Alençon, and of Marie de La Fayette, who came of the old Auvergne house of the Motiers. Born in Paris on 4 November, 1577, he was held at the baptismal font by Diane, Duchess d'Angoulême and had as godfather François de Valois, Duc d'Alençon. His father, who belonged to the class of erudite magistrates of whom Pasquier and De Thou are the best known representatives, died in 1587. François, who had been placed at the College of Boncourt where, among his fellow students, were two whom he was subsequently to meet in joint enterprises—Claude de Mesmes, Comte d'Avaux, one of the staunchest adherents of his policy, and Pierre de Berulle, afterward known as Cardinal de Berulle, the founder of the French Oratorians — made such rapid progress in Latin that before he was ten years old he could speak it for more than an hour before a brilliant assembly and at twelve produced a creditable translation into Latin of a French version of Plutarch; while he had acquired Greek through the medium of conversa-

tion with his father and his master, George Critton, a Scotsman, professor of Greek in the Royal College. His intellectual and devotional precocity were alike remarkable. One day, when his father was entertaining a numerous and distinguished company, the child—he was then only four—mounted a stool and, addressing the guests, related the history of the Passion, which, some time previously, he had heard from the lips of one of the servants. When he reached the entombment, emotion overcame him and the child could not continue. “Does not this child, so moved by the drama of Calvary that he triumphs over the timidity of his age to make an imposing assembly sharers in his emotion, until the emotion which made him speak obliges him to be silent, announce the founder of an Order<sup>4</sup> whose members shall unite themselves in prayer to the sufferings and graces of Mary at the foot of the Cross?” comments Gustave Fagniez.<sup>5</sup> “Does not this *rapprochement* between two facts of assuredly unequal importance indicate that Father Joseph entered religion through

<sup>4</sup> Congregation of Our Lady of Calvary.

<sup>5</sup> *Le Père Joseph et Richelieu* (1577–1638). Paris: Hachette. 1894.

love, that he saw therein that which, truth to say, is its foundation, but which all Christians do not see so clearly—the bleeding sacrifice of charity calling for another sacrifice in return to be efficacious? Ought it not to put us on our guard against the false appearances of severity and dryness which the life of our hero may present?”

When the trouble which marked the close of the reign of Henry III made sojourning in Paris rather unsafe, his widowed mother quitted her town house in the Rue Sainte Avoie where François was born, and retired to the château of Tremblay which she fortified against the risks of civil war. Reveries under the branching trees and in the leafy shade of the patrimonial park favored the growth of religious sentiment in a naturally reflective mind, while ascetical reading gave a precise direction to a precocious detachment from the world. He has related himself the trials and triumphs, the self-questionings and self-revealings, the self-knowledge which made known to him the need of self-repression, before his vocation ripened into a vow to enter the Order of Saint Francis, which he chose, he says, with-

out ever having heard of it and through a divine inspiration. Some time was to elapse before he put this design into execution.

When the advent of Henry IV (March, 1594) restored order and tranquillity to Paris, François Le Clerc entered the University, then only the shadow of its former self, perfected himself in the knowledge of Greek with Frederick Morel, King's lector in that language in the Collège de France, and learned Italian and Spanish under a celebrated master named César Oudin. The facility with which he wrote and spoke these languages counted among the causes which made his help so valuable to Richelieu. His knowledge of the classical languages and literature was profound. Hautebreche records that he knew by heart whole works of profane literature and wrote Latin and Greek, verse as well as prose, with elegance. After a European tour which widened his knowledge of men and things, he returned to France midway in his nineteenth year to appear at court with the title of Baron \* de Maffiers, with the prospect of a brilliant career

\* This barony was one of the principal fiefs of his maternal grandfather, Claude de La Fayette.

in the world under the auspices of his kinsman, Constable de Montmorency, gaining by his knowledge of affairs and the charm of his conversation the esteem of Henry IV and the Duchess de Monceaux, serving with distinction at the siege of Amiens (1597) as a volunteer, and accompanying Hurault de Maisse to England in the same year.

It will be seen that when he renounced the world, François Le Clerc knew what he was sacrificing; knew its attractions without experiencing its vexations; had made a successful experiment in two of the greatest spheres of human activity—war and politics; and at a time when the reception given to his merit, his youth, and his birth, and the interest of powerful patrons, had caused those first rays of fortune, which are hardly less delightful than those of glory, to dazzle his gaze. But when a soul is assisted by grace, everything leads it to God, even what seems should engage it more in the world's interests. The emotions awakened by crossing over to England and the spectacle of Elizabeth's court strengthened in the young man the secret sentiments which he had brought back with him from Italy. The

war had led him to witness the death of a great noble, abandoned without material or spiritual succor by those who had but lately gathered round him with interested eagerness. This scene, insignificant to many others, made a soul preoccupied about its salvation sensible of the danger of an unprepared death and the instability of human affections. His sojourn in England ended by confirming him in his vocation, either because his association with the Protestants of that country made him more orthodox and developed his zeal for the propagation of the faith, or for some other reason.

On his return, a very retired life, exclusive intercourse with persons of great piety, such as M. de Berulle and M. Du Val, doctor of the Sorbonne, whom he made his confessor, preceded a complete separation from the world, upon which he was henceforth resolved. He set out for the Grande Chartreuse with the idea of fixing his retreat there; but, a short way from Nevers, he was stopped by an interior voice which commanded him to return.<sup>1</sup> It was that of filial love which told

<sup>1</sup> "I remember what was said to me in spirit on the Nevers journey—how I was to return to you." (Father Joseph to his mother. Orleans, February, 1599.)

him that he was not to, as it were, rob his mother of himself; that he should redouble his efforts to obtain her consent; that in obtaining it he would associate her with the merit of his immolation, and would give God two souls in place of one.<sup>8</sup> When he rejoined her he avowed his vocation and his attempt to follow it. Then, for fifteen months, took place between mother and son a contest in generosity, as the great Corneille excels in depicting them, the first striving to vanquish maternal affection, the second to overcome grace. In this struggle, as might be expected, it was the woman who triumphed, for it was she who made the sacrifice. In seeing her son ill from the struggle he was making, she allowed a kind of consent to escape her. "I see you pining and dying," she said to him. "Your sufferings are killing me. Get to know how it is among the Capuchins and enter there; perhaps I shall be resigned." He seized the opportunity and asked from Father Benedict, of Canfeld, guardian of the Capuchins of Saint-Honoré, an

<sup>8</sup> "He then heard as it were a voice which said to him: 'Return for your own and your mother's salvation.' " (*Souvenirs de Marie de La Fayette.*)

obedience which sent him to the novitiate at Orleans. The news that he had received the habit at the Convent of Saint Jean-le-Blanc on 2 February, 1599, came by surprise upon his mother, who had forgotten her consent, and at first only saw in what took place a son snatched away from her affection, an infringement of her authority, a kind of abduction. She got her friends to intervene, obtained the aid of the secular arm, and rushed off to Orleans with letters conveying the King's orders to the Capuchins to give up her son, and a prohibition from the Parliament to the religious to receive him. But her opposition to a resolution in which she could not but see the effect of grace did not last long; and for the second time grace triumphed over nature.

He had chosen the Order which most harmonized with his views and aspirations, an order uniting the monastic to the missionary, the contemplative to the active life; a *corps d'élite*, a picked body auxiliary to the secular clergy, always under arms, so to speak, ready to fly to the succor of humanity in every need spiritual and corporal, leaving all things and following the Master in the strictest evangelical

poverty. "This life," he wrote to his mother during the first years that followed his profession, "is a soldier's life. The difference is that one receives death in the service of men, and we hope for life in the service of God."

Ordained priest in 1604, he was made lector in philosophy at the Saint Honoré Convent. As weak sight obliged him to give up teaching, he was given charge of the novitiate in the convent of Meudon, where he practically filled the function of guardian, the titular guardian, Father Jerome of Rouen, being absorbed in the direction of the Daughters of the Passion. He delivered his first sermon at Paris, in the Church of St. Geneviève, and subsequently preached at Bourges, Le Mans, Angers, Saumur, Caen, Loudun, Nantes, Fontevrault, Lenclôitre and Châtellerault. The power of his eloquence is attested by Lepré-Balain, who records his personal impression and the assiduous attention of the faithful; but no specimen of his discourses has come down to us to enable us to judge for ourselves. He thereby effected a great number of conversions and promoted more than one religious vocation. It was to his preaching the Capuchin Order was

indebted for Father Peter of Alençon, martyred in Morocco, and Father Angelus of Montagne, Father Joseph's companion and secretary for more than twenty years.

His election as Provincial of Touraine in September, 1613, led to his entrance into public life as mediator between the King, the Holy See, and the rebellious nobles who had taken up arms in the second civil war which signalized the government of Marie de Médicis. Polemics got mixed up with politics,—no unusual thing, particularly in France. When the States General assembled under the emotion produced by the excesses of the League, the excommunication and absolution of Henry IV, and the assassination of two kings, the deputies of the Tiers État reopened the question of Church and State, claiming the absolute independence of the Crown in regard of the Church and that no power can free subjects from their allegiance. It met with the unanimous opposition of the First Order, the oppositionists including Cardinal du Perron and Richelieu, who contested the inviolability of the Crown, the logical deduction from this doctrine, which, far from being universally admitted in the Catholic

Church, was disputed even among Gallicans and could only be established by ecclesiastical authority. The situation was critical. The traditional conception of the relationship of the two powers was so firmly maintained by Rome and so well accepted by the Gallican clergy that the adoption of the view of the *Tiers État* as a law of the State would have led to an interdict and a schism. Henri de Bourbon and his Catholic adherents had given pledges to their Protestant allies and sought to acquire some popularity for their cause by posing as champions of national and Gallican ideas and inscribing the article of the *Tiers État* in the program of their claims.

Father Joseph, who had been for the third time elected Provincial of Touraine, and whose brother, Charles Le Clerc du Tremblay, was in the household of Henri de Bourbon, approached the chief of the malcontents with overtures of accommodation which were favorably listened to. The reception he met from the Dukes of Mayenne and Longueville was not less friendly; both were relatives of the Duc de Nevers, head of the crusade of which the Capuchin was the soul, and the second was moreover the nephew

of Antoinette of Orleans, the spiritual daughter of the future founder of the Calvary Congregation. Father Joseph preached in presence of these princes on charity, obedience, and union, and used every means to dispose them to submission. The consummate skill and success with which he carried on delicate and difficult negotiations with Catholic and Protestant nobles foreshadowed the future diplomatist whose name and fame were to be linked with those of Richelieu. When it is remembered that he had to deal with Marie de Médicis, full of Italian wile and *souplesse*, with men like Condé, Bouillon, and Sully, and to reconcile private as well as public interests, it will be seen that he had no easy task to arrange a situation which imperiled the pacification of the kingdom and its relations with the Holy See. While the Conferences, which were held at the house of the Comtesse de Soissons at Loudun, were proceeding, a serious malady, of which Henri de Bourbon had a relapse, interrupted them. The fear of appearing before God in the character of a rebel and a schismatic softened Henri's heart and thus rendered Father Joseph's exhortations more efficacious. Sum-

moned to the prince's bedside to give him spiritual succor, the Capuchin prevailed on him to sign the peace, concluded on 3 May, 1616.

Father Joseph's decisive intervention in the negotiations of Loudun necessitated numerous journeys between that city and Tours, during which he had frequent interviews with Richelieu, then residing in his priory of Notre Dame de Coussay. They formed an alliance more or less based on unity of views and action affecting the future of religion and the country. It was the alliance of a nature enthusiastic, impervious to discouragement and fertile in expedients, with a mind bold in conception, persevering and circumspect in execution. Father Joseph passionately longed to see France resume its influence in Europe by maintaining its old alliance, but he did not then dream that he was destined to labor in this national work, and was absorbed in the preoccupation of rescuing his country from heresy and the Holy Places from the infidels. Richelieu's approval and concurrence were gained for the first of these enterprises, which flattered the statesman's liking for political unity and the theologian's desire for the propagation of religion;

but on the subject of the second he did not share Father Joseph's confidence, although in an interview with the Duke of Nevers under the Capuchin's auspices he had exchanged the promise of favoring the projected crusade for that of a support given to his ambitious hopes. Father Joseph was not slow to recognize that Spain's ambition was an insurmountable obstacle to that project, and that the abasement of that power, and, as an inevitable consequence, of the House of Austria, was the indispensable preliminary of the conquest of the Holy Land; and henceforward became Richelieu's most powerful ally in his policy, the key-notes of which were the need of humbling Austria, regarded by France as its hereditary enemy, and keeping Spain at bay.

But neither the difference in their point of view nor that of their nature prevented Richelieu and Father Joseph from being mutually communicative, and understanding and appreciating each other. The Bishop of Luçon admired the Capuchin's great heart, the abundance and originality of his views, and his ardor tempered by shrewdness; while the friar was delighted to find his ideas reflected in the mind

of a resolute prelate, and resolved to neglect no opportunity of furthering the advent to power of Richelieu, whom he regarded as the man designed by Providence to uplift the Church and France. "If," observes Gustave Fagniez, "it is true to say that it was Richelieu who made Father Joseph a politician, in this sense that he associated him in the constant and daily management of affairs, one may, to a certain extent, say the inverse: it is at least certain that, if the Cardinal returned to the government never more to leave it, he partly owed it to the Capuchin. Driven into the cloister through disdain of the temporal satisfactions upon which his ambition could count, the latter was to find himself drawn back into the world through his very religious enterprises and his devotedness to Richelieu."\*

Father Joseph, who went to Rome in 1616 about the mission in Poitou, the crusade against the Turks and the foundation of the Calvary Congregation, returning in June, 1617, on the eve of his taking leave of the Sovereign Pontiff, described the situation of his country as "an obscure labyrinth into which he trembled to

\*Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 78.

enter." Nevertheless he did enter it; and to his successful unraveling of the tangled and tortuous maze into which religious and diplomatic interests got involved was due the restoration of Catholic worship in Bearn, where Jeanne d'Albret had deprived the Bernese clergy of their possessions to endow and establish as a national Church the religion of the Protestant minority. The Huguenot party who formed an *imperium in imperio*, were giving great trouble by their intrigues, while their audacious pretensions were encouraged by the occasional victories they scored over some weak men in power. The abolition of the privileged Church and autonomy in Bearn so alarmed the Protestant party that an unauthorized assembly at Rochelle refused to dissolve and defied the royal authority, organizing, at least on paper, an insurrectional government. Father Joseph, in a letter to one of the Calvary nuns, exhorts her to pray for "the ruin of heresy in those quarters" and for "the good prelate, God's arm," as he calls the Archbishop of Sens, who had summoned to his assistance "the useless neighbor," as, in his humility, he modestly designates himself. Sometimes dis-

couragement takes possession of him and he talks of fleeing into an absolute retreat from the spectacle of triumphant heresy and the cowardly inertia which tolerates it; of abandoning the world, in which he finds so much that is distasteful to him, and waiting until God puts His hand to it. "He alone knows," he says, "how deadening it is to my spirit to be in the midst of such nastiness."<sup>10</sup>

The campaign against the Huguenot rebels (May, 1621) assumed something of the character of a crusade. The Jesuits and Capuchins moved about among the soldiers, animating them, and hearing their confessions. In the chapel of Notre Dame des Ardilliers, Saumur, where Father Joseph first conceived the idea of founding the Calvary sisterhood, Louis XIII, who was accompanied by the Queen Mother and Richelieu, received Communion along with all his suite. Father Joseph, who founded a convent of his order at Thouars, prevented the soldiers from pillaging Saint Jean d'Angely, preached in the principal church, and obtained

<sup>10</sup> "Lui seul scayt la mort que c'est à mon esprit d'estre parmy telles ordures."—Letter to the Prioress of Lenclôitre, December, 1620.

from the King a site on the demolished fortifications for another convent.

Meanwhile a revolution of the palace, a prime mover in which was Jean Davy du Perron, Archbishop of Sens, had for its object the displacement of the Duc de Luynes and the substitution of the Bishop of Luçon, regarded as the most resolute and capable exponent of the Catholic policy. Richelieu had become the hope of the partisans of that policy. "The impression he has left of himself in history," says Fagniez,<sup>11</sup> "seems no doubt difficult to reconcile with the position of the protégé, the favorite of what they then called the 'devotees'; but this difficulty exists only because people forget the affinity of his sentiments with theirs, to think only of the part which circumstances as well as his inclinations made him take. The truth is that Richelieu, a zealous bishop, protector of the Poitou missions, a highly esteemed controversialist, a candidate for the Cardinalate, and private adviser to the Queen Mother, promised in the eyes of the Catholic majority of the country, alarmed by the crisis which Catholicism was passing through in Europe, to be

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 94.

a minister capable of defending it and profiting by the imprudences of the French Protestants to disarm them, and by a pressure more skilful than violent to make them return to the bosom of the Church. The truth is that Richelieu, without compromising himself with any party, lent his countenance to these hopes, first because they corresponded to his ideas and then because they ensured him the support of the largest and most active body of opinion. Father Joseph went bail for him to the militant Catholics.”

No one worked more earnestly to clear the pathway to power for Richelieu and overcome the intrigues of coteries and cabals which obstructed his progress than Père Joseph, entirely under the spell of his magnetic influence. “Hold for certain,” he wrote to his Capuchin brethren, “that the good personage of whom you speak and to whom I disclosed the work of God,<sup>12</sup> is *in visceribus meis ad convivendum et commoriendum*. Act so with him that he may daily increase in the holy resolution of employing for Him the considerable talents He has

<sup>12</sup> The crusade against the Turks.

given him.”<sup>18</sup> What he besought the Capuchins to do, he did himself first of all, for his admiration detracted nothing from his independence and authority; he demanded from his friend a strict account of the talents God had given him; he combated in him, as in the Queen, lukewarmness, laxity, vain distractions into which the expansive and social character of the nobleman-bishop allowed itself to be drawn. One who, on entering the cloister, had renounced all the allurements of the world, who exclusively devoted to God and his country his talents and influence, considered as lost every moment which was not employed in the defence and extension of Catholicism. It was for this grand cause he was acting when he sought to foster the zeal of Richelieu’s partisans and increase their number. He was the life and soul and directing mind of the movement of opinion which bore Richelieu to power.

The regular clergy exercised a dominant influence in society in the seventeenth century. The Catholic renaissance and the complications which imperiled the faith had lifted the monk above the disdain into which Protestantism and

<sup>18</sup> Epistles, MSS. Bibl. Mazarine, M.S. T. 2301, p. 1047.

humanism had caused him to fall, and gained for him the deference and popularity which rightly redounded to the boldest and most active champion of the counter-reformation. This deference and popularity belonged chiefly to the religious who took a leading part in the Catholic movement, which by teaching, preaching, charity, and prayer, was renewing the sources of its moral life and breathing a new soul into France. Father Joseph was one of those. The titles he had gained and was daily acquiring in the service of Catholicism obtained for him access to the court and permitted him to use the greatest freedom of language. When he addressed the king, it was almost always in a religious interest; at one time to speak to him of his project of a crusade and to hold before him the dazzling prospect of being the liberator of the Christians of the East; at another time to obtain his intervention with the Holy See in favor of the Capuchins or of the new congregation he wished to found. He spoke in the vehement and inspired tone habitual to him. Richelieu's name was often mentioned in these conversations when the Capuchin, appealing to the king's patriotism to com-

bat his prejudices, pointed to the Cardinal as the only man capable of exalting the royal authority and enabling the monarch to fill the glorious rôle to which he aspired. Father Joseph's position in his intimate intercourse with the palace had become that of official director, receiving every confidence and exercising all the authority that befitted such an office. Even the royal alcove had no secrets for him.<sup>14</sup>

Father Joseph was attending a Chapter of his Order at Orleans, which reëlected him Provincial, when (August, 1624) he received from Richelieu a letter announcing his appointment by the king as head of the Council of State, and gratefully recognizing in the Capuchin the principal agent, under God, of his elevation; commending himself to the public and private prayers of the assembled friars, "that he might be of useful service therein to the glory of God and the good of the State." He concludes with a pressing invitation to hasten his return to Paris, as he wished to consult him about important affairs within and without the kingdom.

If Father Joseph was able to promote the uprising of Richelieu in such a large degree as the

<sup>14</sup> Gustave Fagniez, *op. cit.*

latter hastened to recognize, he owed it to the influence and prestige which his religious zeal had acquired for him. Among the works which had made his name known and revered was the foundation of the Congregation of the Reformed Benedictines of Our Lady of Calvary. After being the occasion of the first relations between Richelieu and Père Joseph, this undertaking, so far removed in its founders' minds from all worldly views, was, by the sympathies it aroused, by the men it brought together, by the mystical authority it conferred on Father Joseph, effectively to serve the political destiny of the Cardinal and the Capuchin.

In August, 1606, Father Joseph, on his way to the Chapter of his Order about to be held at Paris, stopped with his mother at the Château of Tremblay, where he was urged to preach in the neighboring Priory of Haute Bruyère, which depended on the Order of Fontevrault. Like many offshoots of Fontevrault, the Priory of Haute Bruyère had lapsed into laxity. The impression produced by the Capuchin's preaching was so profound that, in a unanimous transport, the nuns manifested a desire to return to the strict observance of the rule and charged

him to communicate their resolution to the Superioress-General. This mission was not the only motive which called him to Fontevrault; he also wanted to obtain the support of the abbess, Eléonore de Bourbon, the king's aunt, to establish a Capuchin convent at Saumur, despite the resistance of the Protestant governor, Du Plessis-Mornay.

There was then living in the abbey another princess of the blood-royal. Widow of Albert de Gondî, Marquis de Belle-Isle, Antoinette d'Orleans Longueville had begun by embracing the religious life in the reformed convent of the Feuillantines of Toulouse. Her high birth and reputation for holiness had inspired some pious persons with the idea of drawing her out of the obscure convent in which her virtues were hidden to be the successor of her aunt, Eléonore de Bourbon, and the reformer of the Order of Fontevrault. She chose Father Joseph to be her spiritual director. The future of the reform accomplished by Antoinette of St. Scholastica (the name in religion of the Marchioness of Belle-Isle) was one of the three great interests which took him to Rome in 1616. It was linked with the foundation of the Calvairiennes,

an independent congregation based on the primitive rule of St. Benedict and devoted to the conversion of heretics and the expulsion of the infidels from Palestine. The drama of Calvary, which had so moved his young soul in his childhood and awakened his vocation, had been the habitual subject of his meditations. To the deliverance of the Holy Places were to be directed all the prayers and mortifications of Antoinette's little flock, that deliverance in favor of which he was simultaneously appealing to Christian Europe and which, through all the varied events which pointed his attention to other aims and objects, never ceased to be the dream of his life.

The idea of a new congregation met with objections in the *Curia*; at one time Father Joseph despaired of success; but an unexpected and favorable change took place in the dispositions of Paul V and his advisers, a change which the Capuchin attributed to the intercession of St. Charles Borromeo, because it was on his feast (4 November) and after he had recourse to the saintly Archbishop of Milan, that two of the Cardinals, the most opposed to his foundation, came to him to announce that the Pope had consented to all his requests.

Antoinette, who was the real foundress of the Calvary, died prematurely on 25 April, 1618, designating Father Joseph as the infallible guide who had directed all her steps and to whom her spiritual daughters ought to render the readiest obedience. Thanks to his efforts the work developed and took root and has continued. To him the new Congregation was indebted for the protection of the Queen Mother, whose partiality for the Calvairiennes was manifested in many ways, establishing them alongside her in the park of the Luxembourg Palace.<sup>15</sup> It was also indebted to him for Richelieu's solicitude and sympathy. One of his cousins, Madeleine de la Porte, entered the Calvary of Morlaix, and the Cardinal's niece, the Duchess d'Aiguillon, laid the first stone of the Calvary of the Crucifixion near the Temple. He was very liberal in his donations and endowments. It was after coming from Communion, Father Joseph records, that he added

<sup>15</sup> The cloister and door of the convent founded by Marie de Médicis still exist. The original character of the architecture attracts the attention of all who pass by the Petit-Luxembourg. The Queen's name figures in almost all the acts and documents which constituted the Congregation, the most important being the Bull *Ad militantis ecclesiae regimen*, 22 March, 1621, by which Gregory XV sanctioned the separation from the Order of Feuillants.

to his other liberalities a sum of 30,000 livres for the advancement of the work and the foundation of a Mass in the Convent of the Compassion in the Faubourg Saint-Germain. This was after the military reverses which in 1636, in the terrible "Corbie year," shook even the Cardinal's firmness and carried alarm into the midst of Paris. But, Gustave Fagniez<sup>18</sup> observes, we must be careful not to see in these pious foundations, and in the devout language, grave and penetrating, in which they are made, only a passing and superficial emotion due to external circumstances. It is, on the contrary, from the inmost depths of Richelieu's own soul that proceed his acts and language, like his prayer to the Blessed Virgin for the peace of Christendom, for the solace of "the poor people of France," and the accomplishment of a social and moral reformation.

Catholic by education, by profession, by the moral atmosphere he breathed, by his intelligence of the interests of France, Richelieu was Catholic also by his serious and reflective and introspective turn of mind. It was through this sentiment that Father Joseph acquired a hold

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 115, 116.

of him. The Calvary counted for a good deal in this connexion. Between Richelieu and the Calvary there was a spiritual intercourse, of which Père Joseph was the intermediary. He represented him to the nuns as a superior genius, gifted and chosen by God to labor for His glory, and as one who was to be supported by their prayers. The patrons and protectors of the new Congregation formed part of that group which religious zeal had formed around Père Joseph and which strengthened his position and social influence. They included Philippe Cospéan, successively Bishop of Aire, Nantes, and Lisieux, whose eloquence had moved the nuns of Lenclôitre with the first desire of reform; Jean Davy du Perron, Archbishop of Sens; Sebastian Bouthillier, Bishop of Aire; Henri de Gondi, Cardinal-Bishop of Paris; and René de Louet, Bishop of Quimper. The Calvary also recalls the names of the Bishop of Poitiers, Henri Chasteigner de la Rocheposay, Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchess de Longueville and niece of Antoinette, Françoise de Lorraine, Duchess of Vendôme, Mother Anne of St. Bartholomew, a Carmelite nun, a favorite disciple of Saint Teresa, Père

Hubert Charpentier, founder of the Priests of Calvary, Madame de Lozon, and De Launay de Razilly, the mariner and explorer.

It will be easily understood how in the midst of such an *entourage* the Capuchin friar acquired that social ascendancy of which the astute Richelieu knew well how to make good use. One would entirely misunderstand the spirit of the seventeenth century, if one forgot that religion then obtained the almost universal assent and devotedness of minds and hearts, and that in rendering service to it was the surest way of reaching popularity, consideration, and influence.

## II.

**T**HE dominant thought which influenced the inner life and external action of Father Joseph, the pivotal idea of his whole policy, to which all his efforts directly or indirectly tended, was the deliverance of the Holy Land from the dominion of infidels. In his eyes, fixed by a mysterious attraction upon the East, the presence of the Turk in Jerusalem was the abomination of desolation standing in the Holy Place. To expel the Mohammedan, to replace the crescent by the Cross, was the dream, the absorbing passion, the ambition, the underlying motive of his whole life. It was the beacon-light, the pole-star upon which his gaze was riveted in shaping his course through the tortuous and tempestuous ways of contemporary politics and statecraft. With this object he founded a Congregation whose members were to combat in secret the infidel with the spiritual weapon of prayer, while the secular arm was to be used in a combination of the Christian powers who were to engage in a renewed crusade.

“It seems difficult,” observes Fagniez,<sup>1</sup> “to defend such an enterprise from the ridicule reserved for attempts in disproportion to the forces of their author and in contradiction to the spirit of the times which gave them birth. Such designs, to be justified, should rest upon a powerful current flowing from facts or at least upon opinion. Now, since the epoch when the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, latest and last stream of the barbaric invasions, inaugurated modern times up to the days when Father Joseph strove to win over the Powers to his project, Europe seems to have no longer anything in common with that Christian republic of the Middle Ages which still retained the impress of Roman and Carlovingian unity, which venerated in the Pope and the Emperor its representatives, and which one and the same faith and same impulse urged to the Crusades. The progress of the royal power and the formation of nationalities, the rupture of religious unity and the consequent intestine and international struggles, wars of equilibrium and preponderance, maritime discoveries and expeditions, the opposition

<sup>1</sup> *Le Père Joseph et Richelieu*, Vol. I, pp. 120–122.

of the Germanic and Latin races, the new importance of economic interests,—everything in that period of a century and a half shows us peoples isolated by the painful birth of their nationality and their faith, and only coming together to fight; everything attests an anarchy which will bear fruit, but which, at the opening of the seventeenth century, is ignorant itself of what it carries in its womb. And yet, if one looks closer into it, one perceives that the tradition of a common religion and civilization is still very living. Two things ensure the perpetuity of this tradition: the cosmopolitan character of the Papacy which, in reforming the Church and itself, partly regains the authority which heresy caused it to lose, and the dread of Islamism which is spreading along the Danube and skims the shores of the Mediterranean. Crusading projects, the destruction of the Ottoman navy at Lepanto, the general disapproval of the alliance of Christian kings with the Sultans, the designs attributed by Sully to Henry IV, and rather numerous writings prove that the divisions of Christendom did not make it forget either the solidarity of its members or the danger of Islamism.”

Among those who sought to draw the attention of Western Europe to the East were the Greeks, who had a special interest in promoting a crusade by means of which they hoped to free their country and restore the Greek Empire, a political problem even up to this only half solved. Efforts were made to entice Henry IV, the arbiter of Christendom, by the alluring prospect of the grand rôle which the leadership of a crusade to which the Republic of Venice, the kings of Scotland and England, and the Pope and Italian princes would give their active concurrence, presented. But the head of the Bourbon dynasty had too great need of Turkey in the war he was preparing against the House of Austria to listen to such suggestions. They found a ready listener and coöperator, however, in Charles of Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, who, as grandson of Margaret Paleologus of Montferrat, was destined to become, by the fusion of the elder with the younger branch of the Gonzaga house in 1627, the chief of the house of the Paleologi and a claimant to the throne of Constantinople.<sup>2</sup>

In 1609 the Maniotes and neighboring tribes

<sup>2</sup> The Greeks always addressed him as Constantine Paleologus.

who paid tribute to the Turks appealed to him, through the intermediary of two archbishops and three bishops—for priests were the natural representatives of a population for whom religion was the best safeguard of nationality, the only title to autonomy in their relations with their masters—to head an armed movement to purge the Morea of Mohammedanism and secure their independence. Their sentiments were shared by the bishops and notables of Macedonia, Servia, Albania, Dalmatia, and Croatia, who met at Cucci in Upper Albania on 18 September, 1614, and sketched out a plan of insurrection which was to lead them in eight months to Constantinople. Isolated in the midst of the Christians, twenty times more numerous, it was calculated that the strength of the Turks would be utterly broken. Growing out of the appeal of an oppressed nation to a prince who represented its former independence and greatness, this project of national emancipation was almost immediately, by appeal to the Christian powers, to transform itself into a crusade and definitely enter into the domain of European policy.

When the missions in Poitou and the founda-

tion of a reformed Congregation of the Order of Saint Benedict took Father Joseph to Rome in 1616, he strove to interest Pope Paul V in the projected crusade as a work of God, invoking in its favor the revelations and visions with which he said he had been favored, particularly during the Holy Sacrifice; not forgetting to lay before the Pontiff the advantages of the undertaking in relation to the peace of Europe. But Paul V was not an Urban II, and though Joseph du Tremblay had something of the contagious enthusiasm of Peter the Hermit, men and things had altered much during the five centuries and more which had lapsed since the tumultuous cry "*Deus vult!*—God wills it!" broke from the heart and lips of the Council of Clermont, and a general call to arms in a holy war rang throughout Europe.

Nevertheless, preceded by the reputation he had already gained—the confidential adviser of the queen-mother, of the first prince of the blood and of one of the greatest nobles in the kingdom<sup>3</sup>—he succeeded in impressing his views on the cautious and calculating mind of Paul V, who felt that he was in the presence of

<sup>3</sup> The Duke of Nevers.

an apostle as well as a statesman; and Father Joseph felt authorized to write that the Pope was entirely disposed to favor the enterprise, Cardinal Borghese promising that his uncle would put forth all his apostolic zeal to insure its success.

It was not only with the Pope Father Joseph treated. He also received encouraging assurances from the agents of the Emperor and the Archduke Ferdinand of Graetz. In Rome he met one of his religious brethren, probably Father Valeriano Magni, who had left Warsaw in February, 1617, with the mission of obtaining the Papal approval of an Order of Knights composed of Polish, German, Hungarian, Transylvanian, Wallachian, and Moldavian nobles, who had at their disposal a fund of two millions, and had assembled on the Turkish frontier on the pretext of reëstablishing the King of Poland on the throne of Sweden, a body of from twelve to fifteen thousand men. This Capuchin, executing the order he had received from his master, hastened to communicate to Father Joseph his instructions and to take counsel with him. The latter left Rome about Easter (26 March), 1617. Returning, as he had

come, on foot and by forced marches <sup>4</sup>—for, strict adherent of his Rule, he only availed of the dispensations granted by the obedience of the provincial when absolutely necessary—he stopped at Florence and Turin to solicit the concurrence of the Grand Duke and the Duke of Savoy. The Tuscan navy could furnish an important contingent to a maritime expedition, and its frequent engagements with the Ottoman navy, and the existence of the military order of St. Stephen, specially founded to fight the Turks, must have made the idea of a crusade popular in the States of the Grand Duke. Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, who had pretensions to the kingdoms of Cyprus and Jerusalem, entered warmly into his views. To while away the languor and fatigue of the journey, Father Joseph composed an epic poem entitled the *Turciade*, which the Abbé Dedouvres has discovered in the Barberini.

On his return to court, shortly before 7 June, 1617, he found it in a very different situation from that in which he left it. A revolution of

<sup>4</sup>“ . . . Tanto affrettato per importantissime ragioni, che non m'è stato lecito riposarmi di Francia in qua appena un giorno, correndo a piedi per i smisurati caldi. . . . ”—Father Joseph to the Duke of Mantua, 24 September, 1616.

the palace had replaced the favorite of Marie de Médicis and his creatures by the king's favorite and the former ministers of Henry IV, —Villeroy, Jeannin, and Puysieux. Richelieu, involved in the queen-mother's disgrace, had followed that princess to Blois and then retired to his diocese. The Prince De Condé was in prison; the Duke of Nevers and the other mal-content princes had obtained forgetfulness of the past by throwing all the responsibility on the victim of the *coup d'état* of April.<sup>5</sup> As before his departure, all doors were open to Father Joseph, the king's, the favorite's, the council's, even that of the Bastille itself, where he found means of communicating with the Prince De Condé. In a memorandum to the king, written at his request, he passes over none of the circumstances which favored his principal project,—the weakness of the Ottoman Empire; the revolts with which its Christian populations were seething; the military and naval forces assembling in the Wallachian frontier and in the Adriatic, and directed against the Turks still more than against the Muscovites, Swedes, and Venetians; the en-

<sup>5</sup> Marshal D'Ancre, assassinated on 24 April.

couraging dispositions in Africa of the Patriarch of Alexandria, the Negus of Abyssinia and the King of the Congo, in Europe of the Cossacks and Tartars themselves, in Asia of the Druses, all that menaced with dislocation a dominion spread over three continents, but having so little solidarity and cohesion that one might justly compare it to an encampment; all that was noted with visible pleasure but supported by facts. He stimulated the Curia by asking Cardinal Borghese to have negotiations officially opened by the Nuncio Ubaldini, and appealed to the king's religious sentiment by invoking to his aid revelations which appeared to designate that monarch as the future liberator of the Holy Places, exhortations and predictions to which the pious prince lent a willing and gratified ear.

As the best means of making their appeals to Europe, the promoters of the Crusade set about organizing an independent force. Circumstances favored the recruiting of an army of volunteers. Europe was ill at ease on the eve of the Thirty Years' War. A numerous class of unemployed free-lances, soldiers of fortune, were interested in pushing every-

thing to extremes until the stern arbitrament of the sword had to be invoked and gave them the opportunity they wanted. It was the epoch when a Gonzaga, a Montmorency, a Lorraine, a Vendôme, and nobles of lesser rank, tired of paltry intrigues and petty factions, offered themselves and their swords to the Duke of Savoy, the Most Serene Republic, and the Catholic King, to recruit and lead their armies; when the French *noblesse* were enrolled in crowds under the flag of Lesdiguières to defend Charles Emmanuel. This disgust with the present, this aspiration toward a better future, this desire of warlike activity might find its solace and satisfaction in a great European movement against Islamism, with which a permanent contest, localized in the Mediterranean, already drew adventurers of all countries and all ranks. Europe was moreover still kept in a state of unrest by the long rivalry between France and Austria, by the military preparations of Henry IV, by religious wars and by those occasioned by the successions of Sweden and Russia. The Duke of Nevers' idea was to form a force in which Greek volunteers would be enrolled, and which

would be the nucleus of a cosmopolitan army composed of contingents from European States.

As it was a question of a crusade, it was natural to think of a religious order like those which had been created in the Middle Ages to safeguard and defend the work of the Crusaders. Charles of Gonzaga first thought of detaching from the Order of Malta that of the Holy Sepulchre and getting himself nominated grand-master; but the Papacy, seconding the resistance of the Knights of Malta, refused to lay hands on an institution which had deserved so well of Christendom. Something new had to be created; therefore, in September, 1617, the Duke of Nevers laid at Paris the foundation of an order which, first taking its name from Our Lady, the members calling themselves Knights of the Mother of God, was finally called the Order of the Christian Militia.

The original register, in which are inscribed the names and contributions of the first adherents, is extant. On 29 September, 1617, the feast of St. Michael, Charles of Gonzaga put his name down for 300,000 *livres*, immediately after the queen mother, who headed the list with 1,200,000 *livres*. The Grand Priors were

to give 30,000 *livres* and command twenty-four companies of infantry; the Grand Crosses, 7,500 *livres* with command of twenty companies forming four regiments; the Commanders, 3,000 *livres* and have command of five companies; and Knights 900 *livres* and take command of one company. It was an enterprise, according to the declaration of the founder, under the auspices of the Pope and the Most Christian King and directed against the common enemy of Christianity. Definitively constituted at Vienna on 8 March, 1619, its object, as stated in the statutes and the oath taken by the members, was to establish and maintain peace in the Christian republic, to labor for its extension, to defend it against the infidels and to deliver the Christians who were groaning under their yoke. As soon as they held their first chapter, the founders sent ambassadors to all the great Powers, and solicited also pontifical approval.

Although the Spanish government refused to authorize the introduction of another military order into a country which already counted seven, it was seriously encouraged by the Emperor Ferdinand, Louis XIII, and Pope

Urban VIII. The Pope gave his approval to it in a bull of foundation, became its protector and exhorted Sigismond III to establish it in Poland. The accession of his predecessor, Gregory XV (1 February, 1621), had already secured for the project a more ardent and confiding partisan than Paul V. Prompted by Père Joseph, the Duke of Nevers ordered from the Dutch shipbuilders, the most skilful in Europe, five galleons, considered among the finest vessels launched from the dockyards of the republic; the smallest was 500 tons, the largest probably 800, and each carried from thirty to forty cannon. Charles of Gonzaga hoped, by the beginning of 1619, to embark in his little fleet 13,000 seasoned soldiers. He had asked the King of Poland for a right of passage for 20,000 with whom he purposed invading Turkey. An anonymous letter from Rome, dated 9 February, 1624, estimated the total effective force at 60,000.

Spanish jealousy of France taking the initiative proved an insurmountable obstacle. The Nuncio at Madrid declared the enterprise laudable in principle but impracticable, and the Spanish government thought it chimerical and

inopportune. To other complications which gave rise to difficulties that barred the way was the discovery of a conspiracy against Venice in which Spain was compromised by the complicity of its ambassador to the Republic. It was a bad omen for the success of the difficult task which Father Joseph was pursuing beyond the Pyrenees. He felt so when he wrote: "As to the great affair, all Christendom is entirely in favor of it. . . . The Spaniards alone are keeping the world in check and stopping this good work, and placing Christendom in the way of finding itself soon enveloped in wars more perilous than any our fathers may have seen and the end of which our children will not see." Events which followed gave a prophetic character to these words, when the Thirty Years' War broke out. With that intuition of the future which counted among his most remarkable gifts, he saw Europe involved in a conflict in which, at its inception, only the religious freedom and political rights of the Bohemians seemed to be at stake. Then the close relations of the French Huguenots with foreign Protestants, particularly those of Germany, the competition for the imperial succes-

sion, the chronic rivalry between the Bourbons and the House of Hapsburg, and the always more or less disturbed state of Italy, introduced additional difficulties into the complex and tangled web of European politics. Besides the attention of the King of Poland, Sigismund III, was diverted toward Russia and Sweden. He aspired to bring about the election of his son Ladislaus to the Grand Duchy of Muscovy, and to recover the throne of Sweden of which his uncle Charles IX had been despoiled, and with its recovery to revive Catholicism in that country. Everything that was foreign to this design or an obstacle to it found him indifferent or hostile. Charles of Gonzaga, therefore, could obtain neither the right of passage for the twenty thousand men with whom he purposed invading Turkey nor a base of operations in Podolia. Thus the project of a crusade threatened to degenerate into a dynastic war, though not opposed, but rather favorable, to religious interests.

Charles and Père Joseph still did not abandon hopes of success. They had acquired funds, enrolled a large number in the military order they set themselves to develop and or-

ganize, always regarding it as the mainspring of the movement, established an all-round understanding, and created bases of support in Greece, Moldavia, and Wallachia. They had secured a large number of captains and pilots familiar with the navigation of the Levant, particularly a Norman pirate named Jacques Pierre who knew every bay, creek, and inlet of the Morea and the Archipelago, having been often commissioned by the Duke of Nevers to convey messages and arms to his friends in Greece.

But all was in vain, owing to divided counsels and interests, and the project of a crusade was allowed to lapse, not so much through the apathy of the Christian States as to their rivalries. From that time forward the idea of Christian solidarity confronting Islamism will still keep afloat, like a stray waif of the past, on the current of events whose course it is no longer called to direct. In 1625 Urban VIII and Father Joseph recognized of common accord that circumstances demanded an indefinite adjournment. This opinion, which was universal, did not prevent the existence of the Christian Militia and its receiving new privi-

leges, either in the expectation of more favorable circumstances or in altered views of its primary destination. But what lasted longer than the Militia itself was the idea of a reconciliation of ambitions and beliefs at the expense of the Turks. Powerless to arrest the course of events, it was not on that account less sincere or less widespread, and was shared by personages the most opposed, by Gustavus Adolphus as well as Tilly, by Waldstein as well as Maximilian. But nowhere do we find it more rooted or more constant than in Père Joseph. Led by it to put his hand to the shaping of European policy, he found a compensating consolation for the struggle of France against Austria in the persuasion that the issue of that war would bring about the realization of the great design to which it was the principal obstacle.

It is always idle to speculate on the hypothetical consequences of an event which did not take place, particularly when it is a question of a project like that of Père Joseph and the Duke of Nevers, which did not ripen to a degree of maturity sufficient to enable one to appreciate its chances of success with some cer-

tainty. One cannot, however, refrain from observing that if their enterprise had succeeded, it would probably have averted the Thirty Years' War and solved or rather prevented the Eastern question. This already existed, but it was then born of the danger that overshadowed Europe, menaced by Turkey, in place of that which has long resulted from the weakness of the latter and the competitions it excites.\* In place of Europe being rent asunder for thirty years by the worst of wars, a religious or quasi-religious war, the peace of Europe would have been secured; European States, instead of being pitted against each other in deadly conflict, would have been united in a holy and chivalrous confederacy; Christian soldiers, instead of using their weapons against each other, would have more honorably employed them in expelling the Turk from the sacred soil of Palestine; Greece would have long since regained her freedom and extended her dominion, and other subject races have thrown off the yoke of the Mohammedan; while Armenian Christians would not have been mercilessly massacred at the caprice of fanatical Turkish satraps, with

\*Gustave Fagniez, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 180.

the connivance of a monarch whom the most distinguished British statesman of the nineteenth century did not hesitate to stigmatize as the Great Assassin.

However it may have been, it would be forming a wrong estimate of this project to see in it only the dream of a monk or the romantic ambition of a prince aiming at sovereignty. Its failure is attributable to causes graver and more general than the changeableness and insufficiency of its military leader and the hesitancy of the Papacy. Religious divisions and the rival interests they created prevailed over the sentiment of religious unity, while the expectation of a European conflict hindered States not directly involved from abandoning their attitude of observation. But these difficulties would not justify one in considering it as chimerical and discounting its chances and the grandeur of the scheme. Although, in the words of Burke, the age of chivalry had gone by, and that of sophisters, economists, and calculators had succeeded, or was about to dawn with the advent of "the new learning" and the scepticism and utilitarianism born of the modern spirit; although the days were long

past, never to return, when the West hurled its embattled hosts against the East and whole armies of Crusaders marched toward Palestine under such leaders as Walter the Penniless, Godfrey de Bouillon, Hugh the Great, Robert of Normandy, and Robert of Flanders, still it was a magnificent and statesmanlike project fraught with great issues, a soul-stirring *sursum corda*, an appeal to Christian Europe to turn aside from petty policies only concerned with local interests and minor ambitions and raise their hearts and thoughts and bend their united energies to a higher ideal and loftier aim.

### III.

**W**HILE revolving the idea of a crusade—a project which he never, of his own motion, wholly abandoned—Father Joseph was deeply immersed in the troubled waters of contemporary politics and polemics. It was an age of conflict; when three of the European powers, France, Spain, and Austria, were contending for supremacy. It was the age of the Thirty Years' War which turned Central Europe into a battle-field, the age when still

The whisker'd Spaniard all the land with terror smote.

The great cardinal fact, the pivot upon which the whole movement, as far as France was concerned, revolved, was its long continued resistance to the growing preponderance of the Austro-Spanish power.

It is difficult now to realize the large space which Spain, long fallen to the rear in the march of nations, then occupied in Europe. What the huge Russian Empire, the Colossus of the North, with its ambition for territorial expansion, particularly in Asia, has been to

Great Britain, and much more substantial than the shadowy Yellow Peril—that political mirage upon the horizon of the far East—Spain was to France in the seventeenth century. Since the time of Charles V it had been aiming at universal monarchy. It had laid the foundations and had so far succeeded, had so hemmed in France, that very little remained to be conquered to environ that country on all sides and to render Spain the master and arbiter of Christendom. It even raised pretensions to the disposal of the throne of France, the kings of Spain, claiming descent in the direct male line from Clovis and Charlemagne, asserting that the kingdom belonged to them by natural right and not to the race of Capet.

The policy of Richelieu and Père Joseph was based on the belief that France had a providential mission to curb the insatiable ambition of Spain and Austria and adjust the balance of power in Europe, and with that object, and that object alone, they did not hesitate to form alliances with the Protestant powers. It filled their whole political career from the moment when, in November, 1623, began for the welfare of France that celebrated association of the

Cardinal and the Capuchin friar which was to last for fifteen years; when two churchmen, led, the one by a noble ambition and the other by the duty of obedience, devoted their genius, their patriotism, and their energy to a common object. Since their conversations on affairs of state, when the Bishop of Luçon received the Capuchin at his priories of Roches and Coussay, Richelieu had been greatly impressed with Du Tremblay's farsightedness, his extraordinary knowledge of the enemies of France and their projects and of the European political situation, and resolved to follow his advice. He found him a very willing ally in the work of reform with which he signalized his advent to power.

It was not only an epoch when great captains like Gustavus Adolphus, Tilly, and Wallenstein entered the arena sword in hand and riveted the attention of Europe upon their brilliant achievements, but an epoch when French society, partly at rest after being convulsed by civil war, was entering on that path of religious and moral renovation which was to give the age its distinctive character. In such a society there was almost nothing into which re-

ligion did not enter, and the intervention of a religious in State affairs was by no means considered out of place. It was particularly well received when that religious belonged, like Père Joseph, to a high social rank, to a family distinguished by its services and alliances,<sup>1</sup> and whose talents inspired hopes of a great future. No one was therefore surprised to hear that Richelieu, when summoned to put his hand to the helm of State, asked the Pope and the King of France to give him the Provincial of Touraine and director of Capuchin missions as a helper in the work that lay before him. For Father Joseph politics was only a new form of apostolate, and he was as zealous in converting minds to his political views as in converting souls to the truths of faith.

When Richelieu became the head of the government the three principal questions he had to deal with were: the marriage of Henrietta Maria to the Prince of Wales, who became the consort of the ill-fated Charles I of England;

<sup>1</sup> His godfather and godmother were a brother and a sister of Henry III, who was greatly attached to the Capuchins. He had them always with him as companions and associates in his devotions and loved to lead to Notre Dame de Chartres long processions of Capuchins, habited himself like one of the friars.

the renewal of the alliance with the Dutch Republic; and the defence of the Grison, involving the evacuation of the passages of the Valtelline, usurped by the House of Austria. The thorny question of the right of passage through the Valtelline or valley of the Upper Adda, which extends to the foot of the Grison Alps and leads through Switzerland to northern Italy, raised an important European issue and a diplomatic conflict between France, Spain, Austria, and the Vatican. Spain, which had an interest in establishing communications between Milan and the countries of the Austrian monarchy, separated by the hostile Republic of Venice, wanted free access to the passages which were reached by the Valtelline, and of which the Grisons held the key.

A collateral religious issue was raised by the fact of the inhabitants of the Valtelline, who had remained faithful to Catholicism, having become subject to the Protestant Grisons, by whom they were terrorized and persecuted. Urban VIII, in his effort to secure religious freedom and protection for the former, promised the Spaniards passage through the Valtelline, of which France claimed exclusive con-

trol. The Papal intervention clashing with the policy of France, Richelieu found himself forced into an attitude of apparent hostility to Rome, and entered on a campaign which led to the evacuation of the country by the Pontifical garrisons, only Riva and Chiavenna remaining to the Pope. In acting thus, moved solely by reasons of State, he sank the churchman in the statesman and gave Europe to understand the manner of man who held the reins of power in France, and who had to be counted with as a dominant factor in European politics. Nevertheless, he felt the necessity of minimizing the scandal it gave to zealous Catholics,<sup>2</sup> who could not clearly differentiate between the human and divine in the Church, and to counteract the adverse use made of the incident by Spain, which posed as the Catholic power *par excellence*, although it did not hesitate to secretly bribe the Huguenots, the rabid enemies of Catholicism and the French monarchy.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Orders were sent to the Marquis de Cœuvres, ambassador extraordinary to the Swiss and Grisons, to respect the military honor of the Holy Father and restore to him his flags and his soldiers who had been taken prisoners. Needless to note that it was not the Papal troops Richelieu was opposing, but Spain behind them and using them as a masked battery.

<sup>3</sup> The Marquis de Miribel, Spanish ambassador, secretly ap-

In the negotiations between France and the Holy See which supervened Father Joseph played an important part. Richelieu's government, whose independence was so strikingly displayed and whose support was sought at once by the Protestant coalition and the Catholic counter-reformation, was desirous, he assured the Nuncio Spada—who praises him as a skilful negotiator and says, "he and Richelieu are one"—of marching in line with the latter. His country's rôle in Europe in the present and the future dominated Father Joseph's political mission, as it dominated his mind. Fagniez says: "The fault of his policy was not that it was wanting in scope and horizon. Born of the tradition of Christian brotherhood which was still living in many minds, his conception, or, if one will have it, his political dream was to reconcile national competitions and even religious differences in a common enterprise against Islamism. Although his illusions as to the possibility of this undertaking were singularly shaken, he was sincere when he

proached the Protestant deputies of Montauban and Rochelle with an offer of 500,000 crowns from the King of Spain. (See the Abbé M. Houssaye's *Le Cardinal de Berulle et Le Cardinal de Richelieu*, p. 59.)

represented France as in no great hurry to enter into engagements with the adversaries of the Church and of the House of Austria, but disposed, on the contrary, to combine with the latter in the defence of the Catholic faith.”<sup>4</sup>

Richelieu, in a letter to Father Joseph, then (25 May, 1625) in Rome attending the Chapter of his Order, and accredited by the king and his minister to the Holy See, charges his correspondent to assure the Pope that he will do everything for the development of religion at home and abroad, the pacification of Europe, and the liberation of the East.

The Capuchin, who presented his Latin poem, the *Turciade*, to the distinguished poet-pontiff who then sat in the chair of Peter, left Rome on 19 July, reaching Paris on 13 August. On 16 and 17 September Soubise and the Rochellese were beaten on sea and land and the islands of Ré and Oleron fell into the king's hands. This led the discouraged Protestants to sue for peace. The triumph of the sovereign over his rebellious subjects fired Catholic zeal, popularized the war, and preluded the siege of Rochelle. Meanwhile the treaty of

<sup>4</sup>Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 207.

Monçon, in which Père Joseph had a large hand, made the Catholic religion the only one whose exercise was permissible in the Valtelline and stipulated for the surrender of the forts to the Pope, prior to their being immediately demolished. But it was only a compromise. The Cardinal and the Capuchin remained convinced that the disarmament of the Protestants was an indispensable condition precedent to a strong and active foreign policy on the part of France.

Father Joseph brought to the examination of questions of foreign policy an advantage lacking to Richelieu, a knowledge of Europe which he owed to his sojourns abroad, to the relations of which those sojourns had been the origin, to the information furnished to him by his religious brethren, travelers like himself and admitted to all classes of European society.<sup>5</sup> At the début of a government, of which he became the private adviser and main-spring, he thought it necessary to set down in

<sup>5</sup>The Capuchin Order at that time drew many of its subjects from the highest ranks of society. Henri, Comte du Bouchage, Duc de Joyeuse, Marshal of France, for instance, became a Capuchin under the name of Père Ange. He was closely connected with the Bourbons.

writing the system which, according to him, should direct it. His ideal aim was always the pacification of Christendom, the union of the Christian nations against the infidels. It was to France it belonged to effect this pacification, to preside over this union. His Catholic cosmopolitanism was, therefore, leavened with a very strong national sentiment.

The reconciliation of Christian peoples had two adversaries who equally contributed to divide and paralyze Europe in presence of Mussulman barbarism, — the Protestants and the House of Austria. When the French Protestants rose to arms, both the Cardinal and the Capuchin were profoundly impressed with the necessity of abolishing their anarchical autonomy, which created an *imperium in imperio* and continually threatened the stability of the kingdom. Richelieu steadfastly refused to enter the Protestant league of Hague. This minister, who has been represented as subordinating religious to political interests, whose enemies called him “ the Cardinal of the heretics ” and accused him of sacrificing the Church of France in sustaining the Grisons against the Valtellines, on the contrary carried

his zeal for freedom of conscience for his co-religionists so far as to compromise his relations with his Protestant allies, making it clear that he was a stranger to their passions and views and always stipulating for the interests of the Catholic subjects of the Protestant Powers with which he treated.

In reality between France and the Evangelical party there was only the tie which results from parallel actions against a common enemy. In his predilection and sympathy, as evinced in his relations with the German Catholic party and its head, is to be found the main-spring of his policy. To the two churchmen, Richelieu and Père Joseph, it was given to pose, in its international bearings, the fundamental distinction between the spiritual and political domain. In the short space of five years (1624 to 1629) the great Cardinal, who could wield the sword as well as the crozier and more than once donned the cuirass over the cassock, had forced the English precipitately to abandon the isle of Ré; besieged and captured Rochelle, the chief stronghold of the Huguenots, conquering at once the resistance of the elements, the constancy of the belea-

guered, the king's lassitude, and the ill-will of the nobles; forced in winter the pass of Susa; raised the siege of Casale—the key to the great valley of the Po—and regained in Italy for his country the prestige it had lost by the treaty of Monçon. It was not only in Italy that Louis XIII, after this brilliant series of successes, was looked upon as the most powerful protector of interests menaced by the House of Austria,—all Europe recognized that France was obeying a directing intelligence as clear-sighted as broad-minded, and a strong will capable of overcoming every resistance, that there was a master mind at the head of affairs.

It is noted as a curious fact that, while the reduction of Rochelle was celebrated as a great triumph by Catholic Europe, it did not cool the confidence nor check the impulse which urged a portion of Protestant Europe toward France. The masterly manner in which Richelieu struck European imagination contributed to the double diplomatic success which he obtained in his relations with both. In strict justice, however, a large measure of the credit is due to the humble Capuchin friar, whose rude habit was not only overshadowed by the Cardinal-

itial purple, but whose name and fame were merged in that of the great statesman; for it is on record that Richelieu was disposed to abandon the siege of Rochelle when his drooping courage was aroused by Father Joseph, who thus helped to make him a victor as he had previously helped to make him first minister.\*

It is not only as the confidential adviser of a great statesman, as his coöperator in his vast

\*The taking of Rochelle and the destruction of the political organization of the Huguenots had been the most cherished project of Richelieu, even when Bishop of Luçon, and the subject of frequent conversations with Father Joseph. From their first meeting in 1611 they mutually vowed to devote themselves to this undertaking if God gave them the means and opportunity. The blockade began in 1621; Rochelle capitulated in 1628. One day discouragement took possession of Richelieu, and the obstinate resistance offered by the besieged, the active malevolence of the queen-mother and her entourage, and alarming news from abroad tempted him to raise the siege or relegate its direction to another. It was Father Joseph who dissuaded him. A serious illness, which brought him to death's door, hindered the Capuchin from taking part in the triumph to which he had contributed. Before the capitulation he had the satisfaction of promoting the conversion of the Duke de La Trémoille, one of the principal of the French *noblesse*, and after it refused the bishopric which the king wished to create out of his new conquest. Twice Richelieu was also tempted to interrupt the campaign in Languedoc. Again it was Father Joseph who determined him to persevere. He had early been trained to the use of arms, then an indispensable part of a gentleman's education, took part in the siege of Amiens, and, if he had remained in the world, would have preferred the life of the soldier to that of a courtier, which would have been more in harmony with his martial spirit.

schemes for the aggrandizement of France, as a diplomatist skilled in all the wiles and ways of statecraft, as the organizer of an abortive crusade, that Father Joseph is known to history. It was as the founder of missions at home and abroad that he made the most enduring mark and produced the most permanent and beneficial results. He was before all and above all things a great missionary; that was his chief apostolate. With him everything was subordinate or subsidiary to the grand aim of gaining souls to God by word and work, by preaching and the reproduction of evangelical poverty.<sup>7</sup> He used politics, diplomacy, and statecraft as means to this end. He only promoted the unification and expansion of France, which he loved with the double love of a patriot and a priest, to bring about Catholic unity and the expansion of Catholicism; to weave together in one whole the Church's mystical garment for which contending sects were casting lots. He only dreamed of the conquest of the Holy Land as preliminary to the still holier conquest of souls.

<sup>7</sup> As noted, he made his frequent journeys on foot, except when, for special reasons, permission, unsought by him, was obtained from his superiors that he might use a horse or carriage, when expedition was necessary.

Franciscan and French to the core, he was a man of his time and of his Order, alive to the needs of one and full of the spirit of the other. A great moral crisis then divided minds. People were already beginning to see that reformation, as propounded by Protestants, spelled deformation, and many sought, then as now, in indifferentism a remedy to disenchantment. There is no smoke but there is a smouldering fire somewhere, and it must be admitted that laxity of ecclesiastical discipline and decadence of morals in Poitou, and elsewhere, contributed to this indifferentism.<sup>8</sup> Dr. Gasquet has traced to the Black Death, and the dislocation of the ecclesiastical organization which ensued therefrom, the genesis of the Reformation in England. The origin of many of the moral maladies which afflict the Church of France at present may be referred to the epoch of which we are treating, when, owing to the conflict of creeds and the laxity and moral decadence referred to, people fell out of the practice of religion, and had no preference for either, so that

<sup>8</sup> Lepré-Balain, *Biographie*. As to the state of Catholicism in Poitou see also *Annales Ord. Min. S. Francisci qui Capucini nuncupantur*, of Marcellino of Pisa, III, pp. 232-241.

mothers reared their daughters in religious abstention until their marriage, when they joined the old or new faith as chance or the bridegroom's belief determined.

The two most important factors in the counter-reformation or Catholic reaction were the Capuchins and the Jesuits. They were the picked troops who were sent to the front and marched in the advance guard of the Church's regular army, carrying the war into the enemy's camp and attacking, and sometimes capturing, his strongest positions. Poitou was one of these. It was the province most infected with heresy.<sup>9</sup> Appointed in 1611 guardian of the Capuchin convent at Saumur—founded, curious to relate, by Du Plessis-Mornay, called “the Pope of the Huguenots”—Father Joseph began his apostolate in the West, a region where, with Cévennes and Languedoc, Protestantism, at the epoch of the Edict of Nantes, counted most adherents, including several of the first families of the country. Their adhesion to the doctrinal novelties

<sup>9</sup> “Poiche il Poitou é una delle provincie piu infette d'eresia che sia in Francia.” Bentivoglio to Borghese, 6 May, 1620. Steffani, IV, No. 2227.

of the reformers was followed by that of their vassals and tenants. No one could obtain lands or employment from the Huguenot nobles without sharing their belief, and they obliged their vassals to impose the same conditions on tenant farmers, so that gradually the land passed from Catholics to the richer Protestants, who thus secured territorial supremacy. And they were equally supreme in the towns as in the country. Poitou was ruled by them. Public worship was rendered difficult by the deplorable state in which civil war had left the sacred edifices. Holy places were profaned, liturgical objects stolen, religious symbols broken, and the religious themselves hunted out. Souls were as empty as the temples, and, as Fagniez well observes, the Reformation, in wanting to detach Christianity from the parasitical plants which threatened to stifle it, had pulled up the roots themselves.<sup>10</sup>

The success of the Capuchin missions was marvellous and recalled the Apostolic times. The Order was still in its first fervor and better adapted than the Jesuits to teach and move masses of people. Richelieu and others saw

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 288.

in them the men of the situation, the best fitted to revive faith and rescue souls from heresy, and they rose to it. The appearance of these nomadic mendicant friars, tonsured, habited and sandaled, covered with the dust of the roads and living on public charity, in the midst of sceptical or sect-ridden populations, was a striking object-lesson. A great moral current was set in motion which brought back to the Church with each returning wave souls that had drifted from it. Father Joseph and the six missionaries assigned to him wrought wonders. The opening of a mission drew an immense crowd. The churches were often found too small to contain the congregations and they had to have recourse to the market-places. They besieged the confessionals and the Holy Table. A big town, which Father Joseph designates by saying that it contained only one Catholic and that all the neighboring towns were Huguenot, was invaded by twelve or thirteen thousand persons who remained there for three days to receive Communion, a large portion of whom had to go without obtaining this satisfaction. At Thouars, into which a Capuchin had not previously penetrated, a mis-

sioner was obliged by the devotion of his auditors to lead them in procession to Notre Dame des Ardilliers, the venerated sanctuary of Saumur, nearly the whole town following, several heretics being converted on the way. A mission in the same place brought from Poitou and Anjou from fifteen to sixteen thousand persons. The grace of conversion struck some like a lightning flash, as it struck Saul of Tarsus on the road to Damascus. Many heretics were seen, after the sermon, to throw themselves at the preacher's feet and publicly ask for absolution. The miracles of the Apostolic age were renewed. The movement grew so rapidly that it inspired Father Joseph with hopes of the conversion *en masse* of whole towns; the fervor of the neophytes seemed to him a proof that their conversion came from God and not from human considerations. The Protestant ministers could not understand it; they ascribed the missionaries' influence to magic and tried to stop the progress of the work by calumniating Father Joseph, circulating a rumor that he had deserted his post, that he was dead, or that he had become a Huguenot and even a minister.

One of the missionaries estimated the number of conversions at fifty thousand. The author of a general account of the missions in Poitou, addressed after 1629 to Propaganda, affirms that Father John Baptist of Avranches had, in ten years, converted at least four thousand heretics in Poitou and elsewhere. Father Louis of Champigny gathered in a spiritual harvest of more than five hundred souls. Father Anastasius of Nantes brought back to the true fold two hundred and fifty heretics; Father Ignatius of Nevers, one hundred and fifty; Father Anselm of Angers, during an apostolate of ten years, more than twelve hundred; Father Gervais of Rennes, nearly two hundred in three years; Father Hubert of Thouars, seven hundred and forty; Father John Baptist of Angers, two hundred in three years; Father Fabian of Vierzon, more than one hundred in two years; Father Ambrose of Rennes, a like number; Father Martinien of Saintes, a hundred, and Father Tranquille of Angers, one hundred and fifty. What makes the results the more striking is the smallness of the number of the missionaries; at first only seven, including the superior; they were later

increased to fifteen or twenty, with two Jesuit auxiliaries.

Lepré-Balain <sup>11</sup> depicts the situation of the two creeds as reversed in the province after the Capuchin missions, Catholicism being rendered free and enterprising instead of being humiliated and persecuted. The Blessed Sacrament, borne through the streets, was treated with veneration instead of indignity. Certainly the king's campaign in Poitou in 1621, the submission of Rochelle and of the Protestant party did much for consolidation; but the Capuchins did not wait for the protection of the royal troops to venture among the hostile populations of the southeast and south, where the preaching was equally fruitful. Heresy had struck deep root in Gap where the Protestants, when they got the upper hand, demolished the episcopal palace, made ruins of the cathedral and churches which they had not appropriated to profane uses, melted down the bells, and banished the clergy and Catholic worship. This reign of terror lasted forty years. During a Capuchin mission lapsed Catholics were led to resume the forgotten practice of

<sup>11</sup> *Biographie.*

their religion and forty-five Protestants, belonging to the upper classes, converted. The courage, self-sacrifice and zeal of the missionaries during a plague which broke out in July, 1630, made their preaching still more efficacious. Seven out of ten fell victims to the epidemic, which lasted until January, 1631.

The Capuchins bestowed their sympathy and succor equally upon Protestants and Catholics. Their influence was everywhere felt. Churches were rebuilt, chapels erected in the valleys and on the sides of the mountains, social intercourse became more agreeable, the moral tone of the place was raised, and the Catholic religion became that of the majority. At Mantola and Vilaret in the valleys of Pragelas and Oulx on the borders of Dauphiné and Piedmont, where, if we are to believe a Protestant historian,<sup>12</sup> Catholic worship had so fallen into disuse for sixty years that there was not a single Catholic remaining, the heroic conduct of the Capuchins during an epidemic which followed in the wake of the French army was

<sup>12</sup> Arnaud, *Hist. des protestants du Dauphiné*. In 1625 the Archbishop of Turin, making his pastoral visitation, found no trace of Catholicism there. Rocco, II, p. 276.

equally praiseworthy. As a result of its labors among the sufferers the Capuchin province of Piedmont lost more than a hundred of its subjects. They gave similar proof of their zeal and devotedness to duty at Alais, where they converted more than two thousand and where a convent was built for them by the Duchess of Angoulême. At Villefort in Languedoc it was not only individuals who were converted but whole villages. When the Capuchins left the town, only twelve of the three thousand inhabitants of Villefort remained Protestants. In the village of Barjac, where there were only ten or twelve nominal Catholics, all the inhabitants eventually became Catholics, and the neighboring parishes followed their example. From twelve to thirteen hundred heretics were converted at Florac. The mission of Orange, though established in a town where both the local authorities and inhabitants were heretics, enjoyed the protection of the one and the sympathies of the other on account of the charity displayed by the Capuchins during the pestilence of 1629.

Discounting the external circumstances which aided the progress of the counter-reformation,

Fagniez<sup>13</sup> observes: "These favorable circumstances ought not to make us forget the considerable share of the Capuchins in the decline of heresy; it was mainly to themselves, to their popular and almost dramatic eloquence, to their virtues, still more eloquent than their preaching, to their devotedness in public calamities, they owed their spiritual conquest." What were the weapons with which they fought and conquered? Simply the *Quarant' Ore*, or Forty Hours' Prayer,<sup>14</sup> processions, exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, sermons, conferences, and the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist. The great secret of their astonishing success was their thoroughness, their abnegation, their whole-heartedness. No hireling-shepherds, no perfunctory performances of even the holiest offices could have worked such wonders. It was the quickening spirit which animated word and act, it was unfeigned faith working through unalloyed charity; it was heart speaking to heart, soul to soul; it was the transparent single-mindedness

<sup>13</sup> Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 305.

<sup>14</sup> Instituted in memory of the forty hours Christ passed in the sepulchre.

of the men which aroused tepid Catholics from spiritual torpor and breathed a new life into the souls of heretics.

The moral crisis of Protestantism after the fall and sacking of Pravas—where, as at Rochelle, Father Joseph inspired the Catholic soldiers with religious enthusiasm, aiding the numerous clergy in bringing them material and spiritual succor, converting heretics and receiving the abjuration of prisoners when the cord was round their necks or they were going to the galleys—the abandonment of the weakened Protestant party by England, were in a treaty in which they were entirely overlooked. The defection of their chiefs and their internal divisions; the pacific tendencies of the Protestant cities of the South, ready to throw open their gates to the king; the increasing desire for tranquillity among the industrious middle class; the restoration of Catholicism in Languedoc, a region equal to a sixth of France, where it had been stamped out by the Huguenots, who had not much ground for complaint when similar measure was meted to them later on as they had meted to others; this successful revival, of which Father Joseph had the

general direction, following a victorious military campaign; the numerous conversions as remarkable by their numbers as by the rank of the neophytes; <sup>15</sup> the popularity of the Capuchins, long recognized as the best missionaries to dispel Protestant prejudices against Catholicism, and who, in Languedoc as in Poitou, softened and conquered Calvinist rigidity by their bonhomie and cordiality,—all these concurrent circumstances filled Richelieu and Father Joseph with strong hopes of a general conversion. The Cardinal in 1628 expressed his conviction that before two years there would be no longer any Huguenots in France.<sup>16</sup> Both strove to bring about a solemn conference among the Protestant pastors, deputed by the synods, and Catholic representatives when, after a courteous discussion, arranged before-

<sup>15</sup> Two hundred and fifty in Aubenas were converted in less than three weeks. Father Bonaventure of Amiens in two months and a half caused the return to the Church of the populations of Saint Pargoire, Plaisan, Vendemian, Pouget, Cournonsec, Courmonterral, Poussan, and Balaruc.

<sup>16</sup> The Marquise de la Force to the Marquis, Dec. 31, 1628. *Correspondence de la maison de la Force*, III, 301. The overturn of Protestantism was not, however, effected without an explosion of Huguenot fanaticism here and there. Missioners were outraged and the lords of Montdardier and Mandegou threatened their dependents with death if they became Catholic.

hand, the reunion of the Churches, or, rather the formal submission of the Protestants to the Catholic Church, would be proclaimed. The idea of establishing religious unity in the State survived the check it received on account of having been too soon divulged, and Father Joseph up to his death remained its most zealous representative.

#### IV.

LITERATURE and art, the pen of Lytton and the pencil of Millais among many others, have been so dexterously employed in misrepresenting the attitude and action of Catholic France toward Protestants at this epoch, so many specious appeals have been made to false sentiment, that it is well to note here what was the spirit which actuated one of the chief persons engaged in the conflict of creeds and parties.

Father Joseph, who, in the war against the Huguenots in 1621, followed closely the sieges of Saint Jean d'Angely, Nerac, and Montauban, at the head of numerous Capuchins who converted by their preaching those whom the king submitted by his arms, constantly reminds missionaries and prelates of the triple obligation of procuring the conversion of the Calvinists by patience, by doctrine, and by example. Faith, he says pithily, is a gift of God, and not a gift of Mars or an effect of war. "My habit and my manner of life," he declared

to the Protestant allies in 1633, "speak for my religion. But I hold to be entirely condemnable religious coercion, such as I have seen practised in Germany, particularly in Baden. The principle, *ejus religio, cujus regio*, comes from the devil. One ought not to obtain conversions by violence, but leave God to operate by the Holy Spirit." The Christian religion, he elsewhere<sup>1</sup> reminds them, was founded not by killing but by dying; not by making others endure severities, but by endurance through faith; and he declares that where people have turned aside from this way, religion is diminished, restrained, and stifled. This was meant for the Spaniards who too often allowed themselves to be carried away by bitter zeal in combating heresy, forgetful that it is for the extirpation of heresy, not for the extirpation of heretics, that the Church prays. Those who are ignorantly in error he holds to be more worthy of compassion than punishment, of succor than chastisement.

These were the sentiments of an ardent apostle who for twenty years spent his zeal and his strength for the conversion of the

<sup>1</sup> Discourse on the affairs of the Valtelline and the Grisons.

Huguenots, of a French Catholic who, at the conference of Loudun in 1616, was the indefatigable champion and intelligent defender of Papal authority against the excessive pretensions of Gallicanism. Catholic and Roman to the finger tips, he gloried in the name of Roman Catholic, "because it is the public avowal and profession that a Christian ought to be a member of the Church outside of which there is no salvation."<sup>2</sup>

In 1625 the missions of England, the East, Morocco, and Canada were placed under Father Joseph's direction. He and Richelieu made use of Laud's movement in England to give that transitory crisis in contemporary Anglicanism a Catholic direction.<sup>3</sup> But however

<sup>2</sup> *L'avertissement aux États de l'Europe.*

<sup>3</sup> In the government and among the aristocracy there were many convinced Catholics who lacked only courage to profess their belief publicly. Of this number was Weston, Earl of Portland. More than one seeming Anglican had with him a Catholic priest to give him absolution in his last moments. Francis Windebank, Secretary of State, discussed with the Nuncio Panzani the conditions of a reconciliation between the two Churches, favored by Richard Montagu, Bishop of Chichester, the Earl of Carlyle, and Lord Herbert of Cherbury. Walter Montagu, the queen's favorite, spoke of going to Rome and joining the Oratorians. Father Joseph, who accompanied to London in 1598 his relative Hurault de Maisse, ambassador extraordinary to Queen Elizabeth, and met the prince who afterwards ascended the throne as James I, regarded the Eng-

eager Father Joseph was for the conversion of French heretics and those of other Western nations, what appealed most to his apostolic zeal was the propagation of the faith in the region which had been its birthplace. The Capuchins were not the first who sought to bring under the Gospel yoke the Levantine populations comprising Greeks, Armenians, Copts, Jews, and European colonists. Among their precursors were the older Franciscans and the Jesuits. The field which the Jesuits had cultivated, and from which they were several times expelled, was large enough to give occupation to other laborers. Father Joseph sent to Scio, Smyrna, Constantinople, Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, Father Pacificus of Provins, whose report to Propaganda—founded about the same time (1622-1623) on the initiative of another Capuchin, Father Jerome of

lish schism as one of the greatest evils which happened to the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century and deplored "the blindness of that people so strongly self-opinionated in its misfortune." He ardently desired to see England return to the bosom of the Church and thought James I, whom he credits with having done much to mitigate the severity of the penal laws, would have done more were it not for "the inconsiderate zeal of those who wanted to bury him in the ruins of his State pell-mell with the Catholics, his servants." (Paul Hay du Chastelet: *Recueil de diverses pièces pour l'histoire*, p. 142.)

Narni—was followed by the appointment of Father du Tremblay as prefect of the missions in the East as well as those of England and Scotland. The plan of operations was vast; it was nothing less than the spiritual conquest of the whole region between the Mediterranean and the Caspian Sea. While their patience, humility, poverty, and services, disarmed Turkish fanaticism, their zeal and austerity pleaded so strongly in favor of their doctrines that many Greeks abjured schism.

In 1623 Propaganda established Capuchin missions in Aleppo, Alexandria, Armenia, and Abyssinia. At Beirut the conversion of the governor of the Holy Land drew down upon them the resentment of the Turkish authorities. Upon an order from the Divan they were put in chains and transported to Constantinople. Called upon to choose between apostacy or death they replied as might be expected and were thrown into a narrow, noisome prison, where they were left without food and brought out only to be bastinadoed. Three died of this bad treatment and two were ransomed by the king. But they had successors at Beirut and the work was carried on without

interruption. Some Jews at Aleppo having denounced the Capuchins to Khalil Pasha, he went to see them in the house of the French merchant who gave them hospitality. He found two poor beds, a few books, and a little rice, and went away exclaiming: "They are saints. I shall protect these dervishes!" They grew in favor with all nationalities, Druses, Armenians, and Greeks, and their religious services attracted schismatics just as much as Catholics. The schismatical archbishops themselves profited by their instructions and secretly sent in their adhesion to the Holy See.<sup>4</sup> Conversions were made even among the Mohammedans.

The Capuchins thought of founding a college or seminary in the Lebanon, where Father Joseph established a press for the printing of books in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Syriac, and got several of his religious taught type-setting. He thus set working a propaganda of truth, in opposition to a propaganda of error carried on by Patriarch Cyril through the printing press in Alexandria and Greece. He

<sup>4</sup>Letter of the Metropolitan of Aleppo to Urban VIII, 25 May, 1627, in Rocco, III, 196, 197, No. 3.

had formed in his Order, in view of a Greek and Oriental press, skilled compositors, anticipating by his private initiative the establishment of the *Imprimerie Royal* by the State and the *Propaganda Press* by the Papacy. In this connexion the services rendered by the Capuchin missionaries to Oriental philology and the natural sciences should not be forgotten. The professors in their college at Aleppo published an Arabic version of the Bible in 1633.

It was not all a record of uninterrupted successes. The Capuchins, besides having to endure many privations and persecutions, continually running the risk of being ill-treated by the Turks or robbed by the Arabs on their fatiguing journeys, had to combat the rivalry of other Orders. This involved Father Joseph in a long controversy and much correspondence with France and Rome. In the eyes of Louis XIII and Richelieu the mission of the Levant was a Catholic and national work of the highest importance, and Father Joseph enjoyed their fullest confidence. All that they did for the missions was inspired by him.

In the autumn of 1628 some Capuchin missionaries made their way to Bagdad (the an-

cient Babylon) and Ispahan and were favorably received by the Shah, who gave them two houses, much larger than their modest requirements needed. Although they were allowed much more freedom in Chaldea and Persia than in Turkey, they made fewer converts, and at the siege and capture of Bagdad by the Turks in 1638, only one missionary remained. All the Jacobites, however, numbering forty families, and their bishop had been converted and many Nestorians brought back to the Church.

A similar fate befell the missions of Egypt and Abyssinia, the martyrdom of Père Agathange of Vendôme and Père Cassien of Nantes,<sup>5</sup> sent thither by Father Joseph, shedding a sunset glory upon the latter. The mission of Morocco was not less heroic and sterile. It was the outcome of an expedition organized by Isaac de Razilly, one of Richelieu's advisers and auxiliaries, who, aided by Father Joseph, obtained a commission to negotiate for the suppression of piracy, the liberation of prisoners, and freedom of commerce.

"The impossibility of determining by figures the fruits of the apostolate of the

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 377, 378.

Capuchins and the small number of their missionaries ought not let any doubt rest on the efficacy of that apostolate," says Fagniez. "In the West and Southwest of France, in the Levant, they have been among evangelical workers the most active, the most listened to, the best rewarded for their labors. The return of our country to its old faith has been in a great part their work; if in the East other Orders have disputed with them, since, the honor of propagating Christianity and causing it and the name of France to be loved, they have none the less inherited it from the Jesuits, who could not keep it long, and have none the less worthily fulfilled that noble task which they share to-day with so many others. The merit ought to be largely credited to the founder and commissary apostolic of the missions, to him whose initiative, authority, energy, tact, moderation, and charity this rapid summary has made us admire by turns." \*

This, one would think, was work enough for a lifetime. But intermingled and alternating with these missions were numerous political missions connected with high affairs of State,

\* Fagniez, *op. cit.*

involving delicate, difficult, and protracted negotiations with nearly all the courts and cabinets of Europe. They had to do with questions of home and foreign policy, the reorganization of the government, and the development of Richelieu's policy more or less inspired from beginning to end by Père Joseph. This policy was to weld into a compact kingdom the discordant elements that threatened the disintegration of France by breaking the political power of the nobles, some of the most turbulent and influential of whom threw in their lot with the Huguenots and were continually fomenting revolutions of the palace, court cabals, plots, and insurrections. The zealous friar had no small share in securing national unity and religious peace by maintaining the supremacy of the royal authority and the religion of the State, and by centralizing all the forces of the nation under the crown, which made France chief among the powers of Europe and laid the foundation of a colonial empire. His advice was sought in the struggle for the Alpine passes and the conspiracy of Chalais; in the alliances with Protestant states, which Father Joseph in one of his numerous writings justi-

fies by an appeal to Sacred Scripture; in the unrelaxing effort to keep Austria and Spain at bay and to extend France to the frontiers of Gaul, to its natural boundary, the Rhine. To him was committed the mission to the Diet of Regensburg where the Capuchin envoy labored with notable skill and success to bring about the dismissal of Wallenstein and pave the way for detaching Maximilian of Bavaria and the League from their close alliance with the Emperor and Spain. He guided the formation of the Holy Alliance, the mediation between the Protestant Union and the Catholic League, the mission to Ratisbon and the complicated conferences which resulted in the treaty of Fontainebleau, and which made the Emperor Ferdinand, mortified at being outdone in diplomacy by a friar, exclaim that "a poor Capuchin had disarmed him with his beads and, narrow as his capuche was, was able to make six electoral caps fit into it,"<sup>7</sup> which brought forth a swarm of libels and threats of assassination,<sup>8</sup> the alli-

<sup>7</sup> Alluding to the loss of six votes for the Imperial succession in the Electoral College.

<sup>8</sup> Libellous pamphlets were circulated in Europe, declaring that "he was the enemy of God and the scourge of the world." He even received threats of death. He was accused of enkindling a

ance with Gustavus Adolphus and the policy of bringing Germany under the control of French influence; the project of an Italian Confederation, as the surest means of subverting Spanish domination in the Peninsula; alliances, offensive and defensive; plots and counterplots; revolutions of the palace and civil wars; dynastic wars and so-called religious wars in which religion, properly so-called, was a secondary question or negligible quantity.

Apart from these political issues were important questions of ecclesiastical polity growing out of Gallicanism, Illuminism, and Jansenism, seriously affecting the interests of Catholicity in France. The phase of Gallicanism with which Richelieu and Père Joseph were concerned was known as Richerism. The *Libellus de ecclesiastica et politica potestate* (1611) of Edmond Richer had resuscitated the religious Gallicanism of Gerson, Almain, and Major. Fortified with the authority of the school of political Gallicanism of the parlia-

sanguinary war between Catholic sovereigns, the Emperor, and the Kings of Spain and France. Fagniez says all this violence attests the large share he had in the struggle entered upon by Richelieu against the powerful house which had persuaded many to identify its cause with that of religion.

ments, and, disdaining the scholastics, they went back to the Fathers, relying upon them to oppose to the regime of concordats a Church aristocratically governed by its councils and bishops, a State recognizing no authority in the world superior to its own. Such a localizing of the Church, such an exaggerated conception of ecclesiastical autonomy would inevitably lead to schism. It was nationalism pushed to its utmost limits, and was contradictory of the principle upon which the Church's unity rests as well as of its essentially democratic character. Father Joseph went farther than Richelieu in hostility to Richer and his doctrines. In place of belonging, like Richelieu, to the episcopal body upon which Richer would confer exclusive directing authority, he belonged to an Order which depended directly on the Holy See, and which had suffered persecution rather than offer public prayers for a king (Henry IV) whom the Pope had not yet absolved. The cosmopolitan character of his first undertaking, his crusading project, and his missionary work led him more than anyone to regard Rome as the centre and guarantee of Catholic unity. To him more than to the Cardinal redounded the

credit of getting Richer to retract and of reducing him and his party to silence. It was a triumph for Rome, and Urban VIII testified his satisfaction by giving the hat to Alphonse de Richelieu and addressing a brief of congratulations and thanks to Father Joseph.\*

To the perilous problems posed by Richer succeeded the perilous mysticism of the sect of the *illuminés*, a moral epidemic which, originating at Chartres, spread to Picardy, Artois, Cambrésis, Hainault, Brabant, and Paris, and, assimilating the virus of various kindred heresies, affected, it was estimated, more than sixty thousand people. Illuminism was a development on heretical lines of quietism, famous for the contest it brought about between two eminent prelates. Through the influence of Père Joseph, Richelieu adopted severe measures for its suppression as well as for the suppression of nascent Jansenism, which was not yet known by that name, but which was insinuating itself under the seductive teaching of Du Vergier de Hauranne, commonly called Saint-Cyran, and

\* Père Joseph to Bagni, 9 March, 1630. Despatch from the English agent, Edmond, 24 December, 1629. Record Office, State Papers, France, No. 193.

Père Seguenot. The latter recanted his errors and protested his regrets in a very humble letter to the Capuchin, whose zeal for the purity of the faith led him, in conjunction with one of his brethren, Father Hyacinth of Paris, to found in that city, under the title of Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith or of the Exaltation of the Cross, an association for the conversion of heretics.<sup>10</sup>

In the execution of Richelieu's plans of ecclesiastical reform, which synchronized with the ascensional movement of Catholicism in France, consequent on the great work wrought by the Lazarists and Sulpicians, Father Joseph had a large share, as well as in the settlement of the questions at issue between the secular and regular clergy. The latter was signalized by an organized attack on the monastic orders, led by the Archbishop of Rouen (François Harlay de Champvallon) and the Bishop of Belley (Jean Pierre Camus).<sup>11</sup> The latter

<sup>10</sup>Strengthened in 1638 by the accession of the Congregation of the Priests of Calvary, it afterward became infected with the spirit of Jansenism and was ultimately abolished by Mazarin.

<sup>11</sup>The biographer of St. Francis de Sales was reconciled to Père Joseph shortly before the latter's death. In a letter written on 19 July, 1638, to the Capuchin, he thanks him for not letting his name and influence be used against him, except in a superior inter-

launched pamphlet after pamphlet against the monks, whose cause was championed by the Capuchin, always as ready to defer to Rome the arbitrament of religious questions as he was jealous of safeguarding in relations with the Curia the independence of the national policy. The campaign against the regulars, which emanated from the Gallican spirit, ended in making the Pope the arbiter in a conflict where his authority was at stake; that is to say, an abdication of episcopal Gallicanism to the advantage of the Sovereign Pontiff.

It is illustrative of his many-sided character as well as a note of high perfection that, with the same facility with which he could deal with questions of State involving complex details and religious questions turning upon theological subtleties, Father Joseph could turn aside from the world without to the world within us. He could divert his attention from the clamor and contention of rival potentates and parties to study the silent operations of grace in the soul—from life as it is lived in courts and

est and not through personal animosity. Extolling his moderation, he treats Père Joseph as the Cardinal's minister, as the latter was the king's first minister.

camp, in palaces and parliaments, to the spiritual life with its larger issues and wider horizons. Called by God to affairs of State, as his earliest biographer expresses it, from the moment (October, 1623) Cardinal Richelieu solicited and obtained for him from the General of his Order obedience "to go to Court and serve his Majesty," he never lost the cloistral spirit. He was an ascetic from first to last. His ascetical doctrine is scattered through numerous works, most of which were written for the Calvary nuns. Besides these he wrote books for people of the world for the different exercises of the Christian life, and treatises on the seraphic vocation suitable for Capuchins.

Even to the close of his life he had the spiritual direction of the Calvary nuns, whose institute was based on the Rule of St. Benedict, upon which he wrote a volume of "Considerations."<sup>12</sup> To them, wherever his numerous missions carried him, he addressed letters and exhortations for their guidance in the contemplative life, and when in Paris he used to deliver several times a week at the *grille* of the

<sup>12</sup> The superior of the reformed Congregation of Saint Maur, Dom Tarisse, said no one knew so well the spirit of St. Benedict as Père Joseph.

convents of the Compassion and the Crucifixion improvised allocutions. His religious exhortations have been compared to those of St. Francis de Sales for mystical depth, unction, imagination, profusion of imagery and elevated thought. He was a strict disciplinarian. At that time there was not a nunnery, however reformed, but all the ladies of the court had permission to enter it; not to have this privilege was a mark of little authority. They used to stop there a week or a fortnight, and take with them five or six young girls. Father Joseph did not consider this free intercourse with seculars compatible with the development and preservation of the interior spirit, and would have none of it at the Calvary. "Even were I to know," he wrote, "that for permitting once the entrance of a lady into one of our convents she would build five others at her own expense, I would never allow it and would refuse her offer; neither would I wish them to receive a young lady, even if she brought all the wealth imaginable, if she has not the true spirit, for I do not seek money or multitudes, but the spirit." All his ascetical teaching is crystallized in that sentence. Severity in ad-

mission to profession was a point he repeatedly insisted upon, observing that he would prefer a rebellious nun who would scale the convent walls to a hypocrite who would secretly insinuate by her speech and example the poison of laxity.

Lord Lytton puts into the mouth of Richelieu the words: "The pen is mightier than the sword." It was a weapon, defensive or offensive, which Père Joseph frequently and effectually wielded. It enabled him to extend his influence far beyond the king's council chamber or the prime minister's cabinet by operating upon public opinion. Polemics filled the largest part of his political career. He was an indefatigable pamphleteer. His polemical writings, published anonymously, or with assumed names, were so numerous that an examination tending to establish the origin of each of them would much exceed the limits of a volume. The Abbé L. Dedouvres has devoted a work of over 600 pages to an appreciation of Father Joseph as a polemist and to the authentication of the pamphlets attributed to him.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Le Père Joseph, Polemiste, ses premiers écrits, 1623-1626, par l'Abbé L. Dedouvres. Paris, 1895.*

Despite the number, variety, and extent of his writings, it is noteworthy that he has not obtained the least place in the history of French literature. The explanation is found in the fact that he did not write for the sake of achieving literary distinction. Before all things a man of action, wholly devoted to the accomplishment of the work which as churchman and statesman he was providentially called upon to perform, he only used fugitive literature as a means to an end. Most of his writings, like his Epistles to the Benedictine nuns of the Congregation of Our Lady of Calvary, were written *à plume volante*. "His writings," says the Abbé Dedouvres, "were, truly, before all things actions; he did not write for the sake of writing, but to act; in him the author was not distinct from the man, and his writings were confounded with his life; his style was nothing else than his very thought as it came, full of life, from his apostolic soul. He never cared in the least for literary form."<sup>14</sup>

Besides being the author of ascetical works and a prolific pamphleteer, this Capuchin, who added to his other virtues the rare virtue of

<sup>14</sup> Op. cit., Preface, p. 19.

literary self-effacement, was a poet and journalist. The *Turciade*,<sup>15</sup> already referred to, was a Latin epic poem of 4637 verses, composed in favor of the projected crusade against Turkish dominion in Palestine. First published in 1625, it was lost until discovered by the Abbé Dedouvres in the Barberini Library in Rome. The type of crusader therein depicted is not a knight-errant in search of warlike adventures, nor a day-dreamer believing in the possible realization of chimerical projects, but a courageous soldier of the Cross, whose chivalrous zeal, fired by the reports of missionaries, impels him to avenge the sacrilegious outrages of the infidels and free the Holy Places from the usurping Moslem. Besides the *Turciade*, he wrote several religious sonnets, hymns, and canticles and poems referring to Greece and the Holy Land. It is a further proof that his thoughts were continually reverting to the sacred soil sacrosanct for all time as the scene of the central act of the Divine Drama of the Redemption of the human race. Calvary was,

<sup>15</sup> *Turciades libri V dicati Urbano VIII, Pont. Max. Parisiis, apud Jo. Foüet, 1625 (153 pp., 8vo.).* The greater part of it was written in 1616-1617.

indeed, the centre, the motive principle, the soul of his moral life, as France was the object of his patriotic aspirations. He wrote "A sonnet on approaching the House of Loreto" during his first journey through Italy, on the occasion of a pilgrimage he made to that celebrated sanctuary, for which he had a particular affection. The greater part of the *Turciade* and a "Complaint of poor Greece to King Louis the Just" were written during the two journeys to Rome (1616-1617) and Spain (1618). An abridgment of *The Spiritual Life* was composed at the convent of Meudon, when he was master of novices, using verse instead of prose with the object of impressing his own ascetical views on the receptive minds of his subjects.

Unequal, sometimes excellent, but oftenest mediocre, these poems,<sup>16</sup> the Abbé Dedouvres says, reveal however an imagination prompt and vivid, and a great power of vision. This faculty of turning ideas into images, which he possessed in a really eminent degree, enabled

<sup>16</sup> Altogether he wrote 2884 French and 4637 Latin verses. All his French poems exist in manuscript at the Bibliothèque Mazarine (MS. 2301, pp. 1175-1299).

him to scatter here and there in his poems, notably in his "Hymn in praise of Saint Joseph," in his "Comparison of Eternal Life with Spring," and in his *Turciade*, beautiful picturesque verses. Images, metaphors, and analogies abound in his writings. Fagniez does not hesitate to call him a true poet, with the inspiration, the originality, the stirring strains, the wealth of language, the harmony, the happy familiarity with details, and the boldness in selecting the fittest phrases characteristic of one; the only thing that can be found fault with being a little exuberance and redundancy.

Not content with cultivating poetry, like his compeer and compatriot, Richelieu, who nourished the budding germs of artistic and literary excellence, and who established the Société de la Comédie Française and the French Academy, he accorded his patronage to those who cultivated it, such as Chapelain, Boisrobert and others. He shared Richelieu's taste for literature and, despite his austerity, it is not impossible, Fagniez thinks, he may have been induced to give his opinion upon such or such a situation or tirade in one of those tragedies

wrought by Corneille's nascent genius and hall-marked with the great Cardinal's authority.

From 1624 to 1638 he was the chief editor and director of the *Mercure François*, an official publication consisting of twenty-four volumes given over to documents and records concerning the history of France and other countries from 1605 to the close of the reign of Louis XIII (May, 1643).

Father Joseph was also a great orator. As such he is regarded as the precursor of Bossuet in the reform of the French pulpit. By the power and attraction of his oratory he drew thirty young students belonging to the most distinguished families at Bourges into the Order of St. Francis in less than a year. He converted by his preaching a considerable number of Huguenots at Saumur. During the Octave of Corpus Christi at Angers he caused the law courts to be closed in the morning and traders and artisans shut up their shops and lawyers and the canons of Saint Maurice thronged to hear him. At Blois people came twelve and fifteen miles in the depth of winter to his sermons, and during an entire Lent left other churches empty to fill the one in which he preached. If during

the twenty years of apostolate (1605-1624) he achieved such oratorical triumphs, perhaps unexampled at that time, they were due to the serious qualities of his practical and moving eloquence. Rejecting the abridged Summas of Theology, and portable extracts from sacred or profane authors then in vogue, he based his discourses on his personal knowledge. "Where do you get all you tell us of the spiritual life?" asked one of the Calvary nuns. "In yourselves," he replied; "my principal book is your hearts; your consciences, the movements and operations of God in your hearts, that is what I study, that is my book, not written on paper nor with ink, but in your interiors, imprinted in large characters by the Spirit of the living God." He recommends whoever would wish to excel in preaching to study St. Thomas, to read the Bible every year in order to thoroughly familiarize himself with the sacred text, and to devote himself to a thoughtful perusal of the Fathers and ecclesiastical and profane history. He was indifferent to what he calls "the vanity of eloquent discourses." He left studied eloquence to the Bar, and thought pulpits "consecrated to represent the labors of Christ, all

disfigured with tears and blood," no place for "curious researches" or "glittering words."<sup>17</sup>

In 1635, when France was on the eve of a direct struggle with Austria, Father Joseph was regarded as the political successor of Richelieu, and his elevation to the Cardinalate, preparatory thereto, was expected as a foregone conclusion. The idea of his being called to the Sacred College dates back to 1632. In 1633, he was formally presented as the candidate of France and his promotion strongly urged both by Richelieu and the king, the former being desirous of securing the continuation of his policy by one who had so long been the recipient of his confidence and the sharer of his life and thoughts.

But political and personal reasons barred the way. The changed attitude of the Holy See toward France and the legend which, even in his lifetime, travestied the sentiments and rôle of Père Joseph—credulity and calumny having made him a kind of scapegoat for all the woes of Christendom<sup>18</sup>—influenced adversely the

<sup>17</sup> Epistles of Father Joseph to the Fathers of his Order (Ep. 35); Lepre-Balain, *Vie du R. P. Joseph* (l. III, ch. VI). Exhortations, MS. 4 of the Calvary of Angers, p. 401.

<sup>18</sup> Gustave Fagniez, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 402.

mind of Urban VIII. Nevertheless when, as Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, the latter met the illustrious Capuchin in Rome (1616-1617), they became familiar friends. When in August, 1623, the Cardinal became Pope, the Capuchin was received with such exceptional favor by the Pontiff as to create jealousy. He was admitted to audience twice a week during a four months' sojourn, generally passing three and four hours at a time in conversations.<sup>19</sup> One who "sways the harmonious mystery of the world better than princes or prime ministers" had ordained it otherwise; and when, in December, 1638, a second and fatal stroke of apoplexy closed the career of Père Joseph, the cardinalitial honors devolved to France's second candidate, Mazarin, who thus became the presumptive successor of the great minister, taking the place of Joseph du Tremblay in the Church, in the State, and in history.<sup>20</sup>

If, however, he did not die in the fulness of honors as well as in the fulness of years, he died in the hour of France's triumph, a fitting hour to mark the close of a long life devoted to

<sup>19</sup> Lepré-Balain, *Vie du R. P. Joseph*, l. IV, ch. XXXII.

<sup>20</sup> Fagniez.

its service. It was on the morrow of the capture of Breisach by Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, a conquest which assured to France the possession of Alsace, cut off communications between Spain and the Duchy of Milan and the Netherlands, protected Burgundy and Lorraine, and opened to the French army the valley of the Danube. An apocryphal legend represents Richelieu as leaning over his dying friend and colleague and exclaiming: "Courage, Père Joseph, Breisach est à nous!" This is very picturesque and dramatic, but it is not history. The capitulation of Breisach was signed on 17 December, 1638; Father Joseph died on the morning of the 18th; and the news of the victory did not reach the French government until about the 25th.

Faithful to the last to his principles and ideals, to the great project which absorbed so much of his thoughts and to which all his political action tended, his last illness ceased while he was listening to the reading of the history of the conquest of the Holy Land by Godefroy de Bouillon.

By order of the king, his remains were interred before the high altar of the Capuchin

Church in the Faubourg Saint-Honoré, near those of Père Ange de Joyeuse by whom he had been professed. Many of his religious brethren, more than one hundred and sixty of whom were present at the obsequies, shed tears, the most moved being Père Ange de Mortagne, his companion, habitual secretary, and ordinary confessor. Richelieu prayed and wept at his tomb. Three funeral orations at three separate services were delivered, two by Capuchins and one by a Carmelite, Father Leo, in presence of a congregation composed of prelates, princesses, knights, nobles, and representatives of the Parliament.

In summing up a thoughtful appreciation of the character and conduct of Père Joseph at the close of his elaborate study of his life and times — a masterpiece of historical writing — Gustave Fagniez, says: “Father Joseph has reconciled in his person things wrongly considered as incompatible: meditation on the eternal truths and the management of men, religious cosmopolitanism and the national spirit, the loftiest abstractions and the art of unravelling situations and discovering expedients, asceti-

cism and a busy life.”<sup>21</sup> He has done more. He has added another to the many proofs that the Catholic Church is a great school of statesmanship. It was not without sound reason that Richelieu selected his most intimate confidant and coöperator from the ranks of the religious Orders and looked toward the sanctuary for auxiliaries in his numerous enterprises. Anti-clericalism did not dominate the political thought of his epoch and create a cleavage between the Church and the State, as if religion and politics were things apart. Donoso Cortes says, if you probe any great political question to its depths you strike upon a Christian dogma. The true interests of Church and State are identical. The attempt to divorce politics or statecraft from religion is largely responsible for the moral perturbation, the social disturbance, and the impotence of European statesmen to grapple with the grave problems they have helped to create. And if France is to regain the position and prestige it once possessed, whether it remains a republic or reverts to a monarchy, if it is to rid itself of the petty tyranny of the fanatical sectaries who now di-

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 445.

rect its policy and dishonor the republic by outraging liberty in the name of law, it will need a great Catholic statesman of the type of Armand de Richelieu or Joseph du Tremblay.





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